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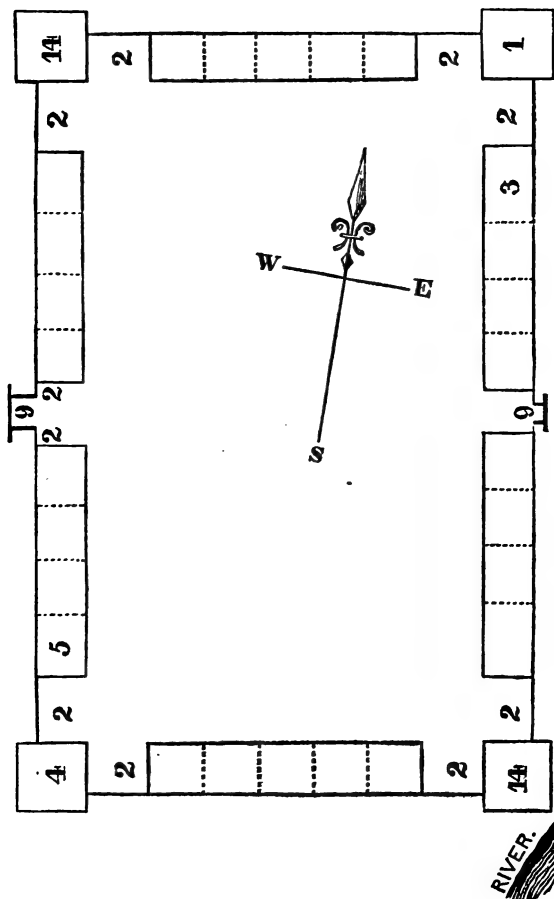
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SKETCHES OF HISTORY, LIFE, AND MANNERS IN THE WEST.—By JAMES HALL. In two volumes.

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Those places not numbered were cabins.

SKETCHES
OF
HISTORY, LIFE, AND MANNERS,
IN
THE WEST.

BY JAMES HALL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA :
HARRISON HALL, 62, WALNUT STREET.

1835.



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PREFACE.

It has not been the object of the writer to attempt a regular history of the western states, or any connected description of the country, or its institutions. The materials for such a work are not in existence, in any available form; no complete collection of political or statistical facts, or scientific observations, has yet been made, from which a work could be compiled. Ignorant and presumptuous travellers have published their own hasty and inaccurate conclusions; and careless writers have selected from these such supposed facts, as comported with their own theories or notions of probability; and we hesitate not to say, that the works which have professed to treat of the whole western region, have been failures.

Particular departments of this great subject have been well treated. A few of the early residents have published their reminiscences, which are highly interesting and valuable, as evidences of the facts which occurred within the observation of the writers. It is to be regretted that so little attention has been bestowed upon the collection and preservation of these authentic narratives of early adventure.

The travels of Pike, Lewis and Clark, and Long, are replete with valuable facts, carefully collected, and reported with scrupulous fidelity ; and a mass of information may be found scattered through the reports of officers, employed by the general government in making surveys, and constructing public works.

A few scientific gentlemen have written with ability on subjects connected with the general history of this region. Dr. Drake's admirable description of the valley of the Miami, entitled "A Picture of Cincinnati," is composed in the calm spirit of philosophical enquiry, and is worthy of entire confidence. The contributions of Colonel M'Kenny, Governor Cass, Mr. Schoolcraft, Mr. Brackenridge, Mr. M'Clung, Mr. Maan Butler, the writer of Tanner's Narrative, and a number of other intelligent individuals, are replete with valuable and interesting matter. In naming these writers, however, we design no disrespect towards others whose names are omitted, as our object is not to attempt to give a complete list of authorities, but to suggest the names of a few of the most prominent.

Of the compilations from these and other authorities, the statistics embraced in Darby's "Views of the United States," Tanner's "Guide to Emigrants," and the recently published work of Mr. Pitkin, are those which may be most safely relied upon.

When the materials shall be accumulated, when the loose facts and scattered reminiscences, which are now floating along the stream of tradition, shall be gathered together, then may such a work be prepared as will be creditable to our country; and then will the pioneers, the warriors, and the patriots of the west, take the proud station which they deserve, among the illustrious founders of the American republic. In the mean while, we can only aim at presenting to the public such fragments of history as may be rescued from oblivion by individuals; and such observations as the few, who are curious in collecting the statistics of their own times, may have been able to accumulate.

In the following volumes, therefore, nothing further is attempted, than a collection of facts, some of which are the result of the writer's own observation, and which are intended rather as examples and illustrations of topics connected with the western states, than as a regular narrative of its history. They are not presented in any connected series, nor with any embellishment of style; but are placed before the reader, under the most unambitious form, consistent with convenience of arrangement, and propriety of expression. This is not said to disarm criticism; an author has no right to interpose himself between the critic and his duty, either to secure his clemency or resent his decision; but simply to explain to the reader the unpretending character of these volumes, in order that their title

may not awaken expectations which they are not calculated to satisfy.

Nor is the matter contained in this work presented now to the reader for the first time. It has no claim to originality, but is properly a compilation. During a long residence in the west, the author has, from time to time, employed his pen in the discussion of various subjects relating to this region, and he has now done little more than to collect together the fragments, which were scattered through the pages of periodical and other publications. It was due to himself thus to identify and resume his property—the more especially, as these writings have been freely used by a number of compilers, some of whom were not careful to acknowledge the debt, while others have misunderstood, or perverted, the author's meaning.

In addition to the papers thus republished, there will however be found some facts, which are now laid before the public for the first time, and some valuable documents have been thrown into an appendix. The latter are not specially referred to, by marginal notes, as the attentive reader will readily trace their connection with the text.

In another work, now in preparation, a collection of facts of more recent date will be laid before the public.

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INTRODUCTION.

But few of the writers who have treated of the western country, rank above mediocrity; and little of all that has been written on this subject is interesting or true. Books we have had in abundance; travels, gazetteers, and geographies inundate the land; but few of them are distinguished by literary merit or accurate information. Perhaps a reason for this is to be found in the character of the country. The subjects of interest, in a land which has long been inhabited by a civilised people, are such as are familiar to the student, and, in traveling through such a region, he treads on classic ground with a knowledge of all the localities. He knows the points of attraction, and, having reached them, is learned in their history. If in Italy, he hastens to Rome; if in the Mediterranean, to Naples, Vesuvius, and the ruins of Carthage; if in Greece, to Athens; if in Palestine, to the Holy Sepulchre. Whether in Europe or in Asia, he finds, at every step, some object to awaken classic recollections, and expatiates on a field already familiar to his imagination. In collecting information, he but fills an

outline previously sketched out in the seclusion of his closet, and the design itself is but a copy ; for such narratives exhibit, in general, the same pictures, coloured by different hands—each correcting the faults, and improving on the failures, of the other. The accomplished writer, in short, who treats of the countries to which we have alluded, must be familiar with their history, their antiquities, their arts, their literature, their every thing which has been open to the observation of the hundreds and thousands who have preceded him ; and, if not altogether devoid of genius, he cannot fail to throw some new light upon subjects, which, however hacknied, are always interesting, and to which every day brings some change, as each year gives moss to the rock and ivy to the ruin.

All this is different in the west. The traveller, who launches his bark upon the silver wave of the Ohio, leaves behind him every object which has been consecrated by the pen of genius. He beholds the beauties of nature in rich luxuriance, but he sees no work of art which has existed beyond the memory of man, except a few faint and shapeless traces of a former race, whose name and character are beyond the reach even of conjecture. Every creation of human skill which he beholds is the work of his cotemporaries. All is new. The fertile soil abounds in vegetation. The forest is bright, and rich, and luxuriant, as

it came from the hands of the Creator. The hundred rivers, that bear the treasures of western industry to the ocean, present grand and imposing spectacles to the eye, while they fill the mind with visions of the future wealth and greatness of the lands through which they roll. But they are nameless to the poet and historian; neither song nor chivalry has consecrated their shores.

The inhabitants are all emigrants from other countries; they have no ruins, no traditions, nothing romantic or incredible, with which to regale the traveller's ear. They can tell of their own weary pilgrimage from the land of their fathers—of exploits performed with the rifle and the axe—of solitary days and fearful nights spent in the wilderness—of sorrow, and sickness, and privation, when none was near to help them—and of competence and comfort, gained by years of toil and suffering; but they have no traditions that run back to an illustrious antiquity.

Scenes and objects of interest occur at every step, but they are of a character entirely new. All that the traveller tells must be learned upon the spot. The subjects are such as appeal to the judgment, and require the deliberate exercise of a cool and discriminating mind. The author has not now to examine the conflicting or conforming opinions of others, but to form a decision for himself upon matters which have not pre-

viously been investigated. He must describe a new country, with its various features and productions—a new people, with novel laws, habits, and institutions. He is not now in Italy or France, surrounded by the illustrious dead, and scarcely less illustrious living, where the canvass glows, and the marble speaks, where every grove shadows the tomb of a martyr, a hero, or a poet; and where every scene awakens a familiar image or a poetic thought. A vast but silent scene surrounds him. No object speaks to his classic recollections. The face of the country, its climate, productions, and industry, must be described, and, to do this, he must dwell long and examine patiently. Books he will find, it is true, but they are the hasty productions of incompetent writers, whose opinions are generally wrong, and whose observations are confined to a few subjects of minor interest.

To acquire an adequate knowledge of such a country, requires extensive personal observation. It is necessary to examine things instead of books, to travel over this wide region, to become acquainted with the people, to learn their history from tradition, and to become informed as to their manners and modes of thinking, by associating with them in the familiar intercourse of business and domestic life. There is no other mode of collecting facts in relation to a country whose history has never been written, and with regard to which no

accurate printed statistics, embracing the whole region, are in existence.

Yet the country affords ample materials. In the historical department a wide and various field is opened. The history of the western country has never been barren of incident. The valley of the Mississippi has been the theatre of hardy exploit and curious adventure, throughout the whole period of our national existence, and its fertile plains present at this time a wide field of speculation. To whatever point in the annals of this immense region we turn, we find them fraught with strange, and novel, and instructive matter. If we trace the solitary path of the fearless Boone; if we pursue the steps of Shelby, of Clarke, of Logan, and of Scott, we find them beset with dangers so terrible, adventures so wild, and achievements so wonderful, as to startle credulity, and we encounter tastes, and habits, and sentiments, peculiar to our own frontier. In the disastrous campaigns of Harmar and St. Clair, and the brilliant successes of Clarke and Wayne, there is a sufficiency of those vicissitudes which enliven the narratives of military daring, while a host of lesser worthies present respectable claims to our applause. "Grim visag'd war" has so recently "smooth'd his wrinkled front," in this vast territory, that thousands of living witnesses remain to show their scars and attest its dangers. The time is within memory when every dwelling was a for-

tress, when to fight "*pro aris et focis*"—for our hearths and altars—was not merely the poet's figure, but the literal and constant business of a whole people, when every father defended his own threshold, and even mothers imbrued their hands in blood to protect their offspring.

Few of these events will live on the dignified page of national history. They formed no part of any national war, either for independence or for conquest; they neither accelerated nor retarded our march to national greatness; they brought no blot, and added but little fame, to the federal escutcheon. They are preserved chiefly in tradition, and will form a rich vein of romantic adventure for the future novelist and poet. But, although the historian of our common republic may not record them, they should find an honourable place in the annals of the respective states. They belong to them and to their history.

The shores of the Mississippi, and its tributary streams, present to the world a singular and most enchanting picture—one which future ages will contemplate with wonder and delight. The celebrity with which the soil has been peopled, and the harmony which has prevailed in the erection of the governments, have no parallel in history, and seem to be the effect of magic, rather than of human agency. Europe was at one time overrun by numerous hordes, who, rushing like a torrent

from the north, in search of a more genial climate, captured or expelled the effeminate inhabitants of the south, and planted colonies in its richest provinces ; but these were savages, who conquered with the sword, and ruled with the rod of iron. The "arm of flesh" was visible in all their operations. Their colonies, like ours, were formed by emigration ; the soil was peopled with an exotic population ; but here the parallel ends. The country, gained by violence, was held by force ; the blood-stained soil produced nothing but "man and steel, the soldier and his sword."

What a contrast does our happy country present to scenes like these ! It remained for us to exhibit to the world the novel spectacle of a people coming from various nations, and differing in language, politics, and religion, sitting down quietly together, erecting states, forming constitutions, and enacting laws, without bloodshed or dissension. Never was there an experiment of greater moral beauty, or more harmonious operation.

Within a few years past, there has been much curiosity awakened in the minds of the American people, in relation to the recent history and present state of their country. The struggle for independence, so brilliant in its achievements, so important in its results, so gratifying to national pride in all its details, long absorbed the sympathies and occupied the thoughts of our coun-

trymen. From that period they drew their brightest recollections ; to that period they referred for all their examples of national virtue. There was a classic purity and heroism in the achievements of our gallant ancestors which hallowed their deeds—but there were also substantial comforts and privileges secured to us by these disinterested patriots, which called forth all our gratitude, and in some measure blunted our perceptions of more recent and cotemporary events. With the recollections of Bunker's Hill and Brandywine before him, what American exulted in the trophies of an Indian war ? What political transaction could awaken the admiration of those who had witnessed the fearful energies which gave existence to a nation ? What hero or statesman could hope to win the applause of a people whose hearts dwelt with reverence upon the exalted standards of civil and military greatness exhibited in the founders of the American republic ? Those luminaries, while they shed an unfading lustre on their country, cast a shadow over succeeding events and rising men ; but their mantles silently fell upon the shoulders of their successors, who, with unpretending assiduity, pursued the course which was to consummate the glory of the nation.

The excitement caused by those splendid national events has passed away, and they are now contemplated with calmness, though still

with admiration. Other incidents have occurred in our history, sufficiently striking to attract attention. Of these the settlement and growth of the country lying west of the Alleghany mountains, are among the most important, and those which, perhaps, are destined to affect, more materially than any other, the national character, institutions, and prosperity.

But a few years have elapsed since the fertile regions watered by the beautiful Ohio began to allure the footsteps of our countrymen across the Alleghany mountains. Covered with boundless forests, and protected by Alpine barriers, terrific to the eye, and almost inaccessible to the most adventurous foot, this lovely country remained not only uninhabited, but wholly unexplored, until Boone and his associates resolved to subdue and people it. The dangers and inquietude of a border life presented no obstacles to the adventurous spirit of the first settlers; nor were such hardships altogether new to those who thus voluntarily sought them. They were generally men inured to danger, or whose immediate predecessors had been, what they themselves now became, warriors and hunters.

The revolutionary war, which had just terminated with infinite glory to the American arms, had infused a military spirit into the whole nation, besides affording to all whose bosoms glowed with the love of liberty, or swelled with the aspirations

of ambition, opportunities of acting a part, however trivial, in the bloody but interesting drama. With the return of peace, when our citizens resumed their domestic avocations, cheerfully abandoning the arms they had reluctantly assumed, the inhabitants of the western frontiers alone formed an exception to the general tranquillity. Here the tomahawk was still bathed in gore: the husbandman reaped his harvest in the garb of the soldier, and often forsook his plough to mingle in the tumult of the battle, or enjoy the dangerous vicissitudes of the chase.

Of these hardy woodsmen, or their immediate descendants, was composed that gallant band of pioneers, who first peopled the shores of the Ohio, men whose infant slumbers had been lulled by the midnight howl of the panther, and to whose ears the war-whoop of the Indian was as familiar as the baying of the faithful watch-dog. To such men home has no indissoluble tie, if that word be employed in its usual sense, as referring to local attachments, or implying any of those associations by which the heart is bound to a spot endeared by fond recollections. The dwelling-place of the woodsman is a frail cabin, erected for temporary shelter, and abandoned upon the lightest cause. His home is in the bosom of his family, who follow his erratic footsteps, as careless of danger, and as patient under privation, as himself.

With these men were mingled a few others, whose character ranked higher in the scale of civilisation, and who gave a tone to the manners of the new settlements, while they furnished the people with leaders in their military, as well as their civil affairs. Several revolutionary officers of gallant name—many promising young men, seeking, with the eagerness of youthful ambition, for scenes of enterprise more active than the quiet prosperity of their own homes afforded—and substantial farmers from the vicinity of the frontiers, who to the hardihood and experience of the woodsman, added the industry and thrift of rural pursuits—such were the men who laid low the forest, expelled the ferocious Indian and the prowling beast of prey, and possessed themselves of a country of vast extent and boundless fertility.

They came in a manner peculiar to themselves; like men fond of danger, and fearless of consequences. Instead of settling in the vicinity of each other, insuring to themselves society and protection by presenting the front of a solid phalanx to the foe, they dispersed themselves over the whole land in small companies, selecting the most fertile spots without reference to the locality of others. The tide of emigration, as it is often called, came not like the swelling billows of the ocean, overwhelming all the land with one vast torrent, but like the gradual overflowing of a great river, whose waters at first escape the gene-

ral mass in small streams, which breaking over the banks, glide through the neighbouring country by numberless little channels, and forming diminutive pools, swell and unite, until the whole surface is inundated. So came the pioneers. Depending more upon their valour than their numbers, these little communities maintained themselves in the wilderness, where the Indian still claimed dominion, and the wolf lurked in every thicket. Between the settlements were extensive tracts, as desert, as blooming, and as wild, as hunter could wish, or poet could imagine.

So long as the frontier was subject to the hostile irruptions of the Indians, the first care of every little colony was to provide for its defence. This was, in general, effected by the erection of a rude fortress, constructed of such materials as the forest afforded, and in whose design no art was displayed, beyond that which the native ingenuity of the forester supplied. A block-house was built of logs, surrounded by a palisade, or picket-work, composed of long stakes driven into the ground, forming an inclosure sufficiently large to contain the people of the settlement, and affording a sufficient protection against the sudden irruptions of savage warfare. This was a temporary refuge for all in time of danger; but it was also the permanent residence of a single family, usually that of the man whose superior skill, courage, or opulence, constituted him, for the time being, a

sort of chieftain in this little tribe. For, as in all societies there are master spirits who acquire an influence over their fellow men, there was always in a frontier settlement, some individual who led the rest to battle, and who, by his address or wisdom in other matters, came into quiet possession of many of the duties and powers of a civil magistrate. There remain traditions of able stratagem, and daring self-devotion, on the part of such men, which may be proudly compared with the best exploits of Rome or Greece. When one of these primitive fortifications formed the rallying point of a numerous population, or was placed at an important point, it was called a "fort;" but in other cases they were known by the less dignified title of "station." Of the latter, there were many which afforded protection only to single families, who had boldly disconnected themselves from society, either for the purpose of acquiring possession, by occupancy, of choice tracts of land, or to gain a scanty emolument by supplying the wants of the chance travellers who occasionally penetrated into these wilds, and who accomplished their journeys to the most distant settlements, as a general penetrates to the capital of an enemy, by advancing from post to post.

Such was the general character of the first settlers who followed the adventurous footsteps of Boone; and whose exploits were not confined to the forests of Kentucky. From the shores of the

Ohio, the hardy pioneers moved forward to those of the Wabash, and from the Wabash to the Mississippi, subduing the whole country, and preserving in Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri, the same bold outlines of character which they first exhibited in Kentucky.

If we trace the history of this country still further back into the remote periods of its discovery and earliest occupation of European adventurers, a fund of interesting though somewhat unconnected information is presented. We are favourably impressed with its features and character, by the manner in which the first travellers invariably speak of its fertility and beauty. The Spaniards, who discovered the southern coast, called it *Florida*, or the land of flowers; the French, who first navigated the Ohio, named it the *Beautiful river*, and La Salle, when he beheld the shores of the Illinois, pronounced them a terrestrial paradise. The imaginations of those adventurous spirits warmed into a poetic fire, as they roamed over the extensive plains of the west, reposed in its delightful groves, or glided with hourly increasing wonder along those liquid highways, which have since become the channels of commerce as mighty in its extent as it has been rapid in its growth.

The French were the first allies and earliest friends of our nation; and of all the emigrants from foreign countries, they most cheerfully sub-

mit to our laws, and most readily adopt our manners and language. They engraft themselves on our stock, and take a deep root in our affections. It is more than a century since a colony of that nation settled at Kaskaskia, a thousand miles from the ocean, a thousand miles from any community of civilised men. Here they flourished for many years, increasing in wealth and population, cultivating the most amicable relations with the Indian tribes, and enjoying a more than ordinary portion of health, prosperity, and peace. Living so long in a situation thus insulated, and having but little commerce with the civilised world, they imbibed many peculiar customs and traits of character, to which their descendants still adhere with singular tenacity. They preserved the gaiety, the content, the hospitality of their nation—but their houses, their language, their agriculture, their trade, and their amusements, are all singularly impressed with characteristic marks of their estranged position, and point them out as a peculiar people. As they were not a literary race, they have left few records behind them, but many valuable traditions, fraught with curious matter, are extant among their descendants, which ought to be preserved.

The Indians still linger on our borders, and sometimes pass through the settled parts of our country, the squalid and miserable remains of a

once warlike population. Can it be that they have not degenerated? Is it possible that these wretched beings exhibit fair specimens of savage men? If they have indeed fallen from a better estate, it should be our task to rescue from oblivion the memory of their former virtues. Our immediate predecessors saw them in their untamed state, in the vigour of their power, and the pride of their independence. Many of these have left behind them testimonials of what they saw, and a few, who properly belong to a departed generation, yet linger on the confines of existence, as if destined to instruct the present generation by their knowledge of the past.

Passing down to periods still more remote, a boundless field of enquiry is presented to our attention. The inexhaustible fertility of the soil, the salubrity of the climate, and the various and amazing resources of our country, evince its capacity to support a dense population. Such a country was not made in vain, nor can it be believed that it was intended by a wise Creator as the residence of savages and beasts of prey. That it once sustained a numerous population, may be inferred from indications which admit of little doubt; that the character of that population was superior to that of the present race of Indians, has been suspected upon evidence, which, though far from being conclusive, is worthy of great consideration.

PART I.

INTERCOURSE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WITH THE INDIANS.

CHAPTER I.

Subject stated—Practice of the first European discoverers, in reference to savage nations.

The relations of our government with the Indian tribes is a subject which is daily increasing in importance; and reflecting men cannot but perceive the ruinous tendency of the policy now pursued, and the absolute necessity of a speedy and radical change. The existence, within our territorial limits, of tribes acknowledged to be independent, involves in itself a paradox; while the details of our negotiations with them, and of our legislation with respect to them, are full of the strangest contradictions. We acknowledge them to be sovereign nations, yet we forbid them from making war upon each other; we admit their purely allodial title to their lands, their unlimited power over them while they remain theirs, and their full possession of the rights of self-government within them,—yet we restrain them from selling those lands to any but ourselves; we treat with them as with free

states, yet we plant our agents, and our military posts among them, and make laws which operate within their territory. In our numerous treaties with them, we acknowledge them to be free, both as nations and as individuals, yet we claim the power to punish in our courts, and by our laws, aggressions committed within their boundaries, denying to them even a concurrent jurisdiction, and forbidding them from adjudicating in their tribunals, upon the rights of our citizens, and from vindicating the privileges of their own. We make distinctions, not merely in effect, but in terms, between the white man and the Indian, of the most degrading character; and at the moment when our commissioners are negotiating with their chiefs solemn leagues, involving the most important interests, pledging to them the faith of our government, and accepting from them similar pledges, we reject those same chiefs if offered as witnesses in our courts, as persons destitute of truth—as creatures too ignorant to understand, or too degraded to practise, the ordinary rules of rectitude.

This simple exposition, of a few of the leading features of our intercourse with the Indians, must satisfy every rational mind that so unnatural a state of things cannot be lasting; that any set of relations founded upon such principles must be unjust, unprofitable, and temporary; and that, although in the infancy of our government it might have been excusable in us to adopt such a policy towards our savage neighbours as their barbarities, or our weakness, might have forced upon us, it becomes us now as a great and enlightened people, to devise a system more consistent with our

national dignity, and better adapted to advance the interests of the respective parties.

To persons residing in the Atlantic states, this subject will probably present itself entirely in a speculative point of view ; while the inhabitants of the frontier, whose interests are more directly concerned, may consider it in a more practical light, as involving questions of expediency, rather than of principle. We would wish to avoid both these extremes, and to take such a view of the subject as shall be both practical and just ; and while we look at the Indians as rational beings, and their tribes as social communities, having inherent and indefeasible rights, to consult also the character, dignity, and advantage, of our own people and government.

We do not assume to have made any new discovery, when we assert, that there are more popular errors in existence, in respect to the Indians, than in regard to almost any other matter which has been so much and so frequently discussed. These have arisen partly out of national antipathies, partly out of the misrepresentations of interested persons, and partly out of the nature of the subject, which is intricate in itself, and delicate in many of its bearings. The usual mode of disposing of the question, or rather of getting rid of it, by asserting that the Indians are savages, not capable of civilisation, not to be trusted, nor to be dealt with as rational beings, is unchristian and unphilosophical. We cannot assent to such a conclusion without discarding the light of revelation, the philosophy of the human mind, and the results of a vast deal of experimental knowledge. The activity of body and mind

displayed by the Indian in all his enterprises ; the propriety and closeness of reasoning in most of their speeches, and the sublimity and pathos of many of them, sufficiently establish the claims of this race to a respectable, if not to an exalted station in point of intellect ; and we have no reason to believe that they have worse hearts, more violent passions, or more obstinate prejudices, than any of the rest of the human family.

Why is it then, that they are savages ? Why have they not ascended in the great scale of civil subordination ? Why are they ferocious, ignorant and brutal, while we, their neighbours, are civilised and polished ? Why is it that, while our intercourse with every other people is humane, enlightened, just—having its foundations fastened upon the broad basis of reciprocity, we shrink with horror from the Indian, we spurn him from our fire-sides and altars—the very ermine of our judges is tarnished by his approach. Why is it, that while the whole world seems united, as it were, in one great and concentrated effort, to spread the light of knowledge, to burst the shackles of superstition, to encourage industry, and to cultivate the kind, the gentle, and the domestic virtues—one little remnant of the human family stands unaffected by the general amelioration, a dark and lonely monument of irretrievable ignorance—incorrigible ferocity ?

It is in the hope of answering some of these questions, that this discussion is attempted ; and in order to arrive at any successful result, it is necessary to go back beyond our own times, and to examine events in which we are not immediately concerned.

If we refer to the earliest intercourse of the existing

Christian nations with the barbarous tribes, in different quarters of the world, we find the disposition and conduct of the latter to have been generally timid and peaceable, and that the first breaches of harmony arose out of the aggressions committed by the former. When, therefore, we speak of our present relations with them as growing out of necessity, and as resulting naturally from the faithlessness and ferocity of the savage character, we assume a position which is not supported by the facts. That a great allowance is to be made for the disparity between civilised and savage nations, is true ; and it is equally true, that the same degree of confidence and cordiality cannot exist between them, as between nations who acknowledge a common religious, moral, and international code, which operates equally upon both the parties. But this does not preclude *all* confidence ; nor prove the Indian destitute of moral virtue and mental capability. On the contrary, it must be admitted, that the Indians, in their primitive state, possessed a higher moral character than now belongs to them, and that they have been degraded in some degree, by their intercourse with civilised men ; and we ought, in all our dealings with them, to endeavour, as well to atone for the injury done to them and to human nature, by our departure from Christian principles, as to bring them back to the same state of moral dignity in which we found them. It may be well to establish some of the positions we have taken, before we proceed any further ; and in so doing we do not design to cast any imputation upon our own government. The great mistakes in policy, and the monstrous crimes commit-

ted against the savage races, to which we propose to allude, have been perpetrated by almost all civilised nations, and our own government has been in this respect, less criminal than any other. Indeed, we know of no deliberate act of cruelty or injustice towards the tribes, with which we are chargeable as a people. On the contrary, our policy has been moderate and just, and distinguished, as we shall show, by a spirit of benevolence. We only complain that this spirit has been misdirected, and that, with the very best intentions, we have done great wrong to the aborigines, to ourselves, and to humanity.

Let us see how other nations have acted towards savages, what have been the examples set us, and how far they have influenced our conduct.

The first discoverers were the Portuguese. Under Don Henry, a prince who in point of knowledge and liberal feeling was a century in advance of the age in which he lived, this people pushed their discoveries into the Canary Islands, the continent of Africa, and the East Indies. They were received with uniform kindness by the natives, who regarded them as a superior race of beings, and were willing to submit implicitly to their authority. Had the Europeans of that day, and their descendants, cultivated an amicable understanding with those simple heathens, and rigidly adhered to a system of good faith and Christian forbearance, there is no calculating the advantages that might have ensued; nor is it to be doubted that those ignorant, helpless, and confiding tribes would have yielded themselves, with hardly a struggle, to the teaching of their more intelligent and powerful neigh-

bours. It was not destined, however, that such should be the course of human events. So far from making the slightest efforts to establish friendly relations with the savages, the very earliest discoverers exhibited a propensity for wanton mischief towards them, more characteristic of demons than of men, and which rendered them and the religion they professed, so odious, that the benevolent exertions of statesmen and Christians since that time, have failed to eradicate the deeply rooted prejudices which had been so injudiciously and so wickedly excited. Among a simple race, who viewed their visitors with superstitious reverence, as creatures more than human, there must have been a mortifying revulsion of feeling, when they discovered, in those admired strangers, all the vices and wantonness which disgraced the rudest barbarians, joined to powers which they imagined the gods only to possess. "Their dread and amazement was raised," says Lafitau, "to the highest pitch, when the Europeans fired their cannons and muskets among them, and they saw their companions fall dead at their feet, without any enemy at hand or any visible cause of their destruction."

Alluding to these transactions, Dr. Johnson remarks: "On what occasion, or for what purpose, muskets were discharged among a people harmless and secure, by strangers, who without any right visited their coast, it is not thought necessary to inform us. The Portuguese could fear nothing from them, and had therefore no adequate provocation; nor is there any reason to believe but that they murdered the negroes in wanton merriment, perhaps only to try

how many a volley would destroy, or what would be the consternation of those that should escape. We are openly told that they had the less scruple concerning their treatment of the savage people, because *they scarcely considered them as distinct from beasts*; and indeed, the practice of all European nations, and among others, of the English barbarians that cultivate the southern islands of America, proves that this opinion, however absurd and foolish, however wicked and injurious, *still continues to prevail.*"

"By these practices, the first discoverers alienated the natives from them; and whenever a ship appeared, every one that could fly betook himself to the mountains and the woods, so that nothing was to be got more than they could steal; they sometimes surprised a few fishers, and made them slaves, and *did what they could to offend the natives, and enrich themselves.*" (*Introduction to The World Displayed*).

These events commenced about the year 1392, which is the date of the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, by the Portuguese. Chivalry was at its zenith about the same time. It was an age of moral darkness and military violence. Tamerlane, the Tartar, was reigning in Persia, and Margaret, the Semiramis of the north, in Denmark. It was the age of Gower and Chaucer, the fathers of English poetry, and of Harry Percy, the celebrated Hotspur. About the same time Wickliffe, the morning star of the reformation, had made the first English translation of the Bible, and Huss and Jerome of Prague began to publish their doctrines. The intelligent reader, keeping these facts in mind, will be at no loss to account

for a course of conduct on the part of the Portuguese towards Africans, differing but little from the intolerance, the deception, and the wanton barbarity, which distinguished the intercourse of European nations with each other, and with the orientals.

In 1492, Columbus gave a new world to European curiosity, avarice, and despotism. It would be vain to attempt to follow the Spanish conquerors in their desolating progress through the islands and continent of America. Like the Portuguese, they were kindly received; like them they repaid kindness with cruelty. Their footsteps were dyed with blood—cruelty, violence, and lust, marked all their actions. Men seemed to be transformed into ministers of darkness, and acted such deeds in real life, as the boldest and darkest imagination has never ventured to suggest, even in poetic frenzy. Bearing the cross in one hand, and the sword in the other, combining bigotry with military rapine, and the thirst for gold with the lust of power, they united in one vast scheme, all the most terrible engines, and worst incentives of crime. We do not know that there is to be found in history, a recital more touching than the account of the conquest of Mexico by Cortes, or than that of Peru by Pizarro. In each of these instances, the conquerors were at first received with hospitality by their confiding victims. They each found an amiable people, possessing many of the social arts, living happily under a government of their own choice, and practising fewer of the unnatural rites of superstition than commonly prevailed among the heathen.

The discovery and invasion of Mexico by the
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Spaniards under Hernando Cortes, occurred in the sixteenth century, and the Europeans were not a little surprised at the greatness of the population, and the splendour of the cities. The city of Mexico, exclusive of its suburbs, is said to have measured ten miles in circumference, and contained according to the Spanish writers sixty thousand houses. Dr. Robertson thinks it did not contain more than that many inhabitants; but that point cannot now be settled, nor is it important. Enough is known to satisfy us that the people had passed from the savage state, in which the subsistence of man is chiefly derived from fishing and hunting, and had congregated in large towns. They had a regular government, and a system of laws. The king lived in great state. "He had," says Cortes, "in this city of Mexico, such houses for his habitation, so deserving of admiration, that I cannot sufficiently express their grandeur and excellence; I shall therefore only say, *there are none equal to them in Spain.*" One of the Spanish leaders, who is styled by Clavigero, the "anonymous conqueror," in consequence of having published a work to which his name is not attached, writes thus: "There were beautiful houses belonging to the nobles, so grand and numerous in their apartments, with such admirable gardens to them, that the sight of them filled us with astonishment and delight. I entered, from curiosity four times into a palace belonging to Montezuma, and having pervaded it until I was weary, I came away at last without having seen it all. Around a large court they used to build sumptuous halls and chambers; but there was one above all so large that it was capable

of containing upwards of three thousand persons without the least inconvenience: it was such that in the gallery of it alone a little square was formed where thirty men on horseback might exercise." It is certain, from the affirmation of all the historians of Mexico, that the army under Cortes, consisting of six thousand four hundred men, and upwards, including the allies, were all lodged in the palace formerly possessed by King Axajacatl; and there remained still sufficient lodging for Montezuma and his attendants.

"There were," says Gomara, "many temples in the city of Mexico, scattered through the different districts, that had their towers in which were the chapels and altars for the repositories of the idols." "All these temples had houses belonging to them, their priests and gods, together with every thing necessary for their worship and service." Cortes says that he counted more than four hundred temples in the city of Cholula alone. They differed, however, in size: some were mere terraces of little height, upon which was a little chapel for the tutelary idol, others were of stupendous dimensions. In speaking of one of these, Cortes declares that it is difficult to describe its parts, its grandeur, and the things contained in it.

It is certain that the Mexicans defended their cities by fortifications which indicated a considerable advance in the military art; they had walls, bastions, palisades, ditches, and entrenchments. These were very inferior, indeed, to those of Europe, because their knowledge of military architecture was imperfect, nor had they occasion to cover themselves from artillery, but they

afforded sufficient proofs of the industry and ingenuity of the people.

Taking them altogether, the Mexicans had many high and estimable traits in their national character; and they probably enjoyed in social life as much happiness as is usually allotted to man. Speaking of Tascalteca, a city of Mexico, Cortes says, "I was surprised at its size and magnificence. It is larger and stronger than Grenada, contains as many and as handsome buildings, and is much more populous than that city at the time of its conquest. It is also much better supplied with corn, poultry, game, fresh water, fish, pulse, and other excellent vegetables. There are in the market each day, thirty thousand persons, including buyers and sellers, without mentioning the merchants and petty dealers dispersed over the city. In this market, may be bought every necessary of life, clothes, shoes, feathers of all kinds, ornaments of gold and silver as well wrought as in any part of the world; various kinds of earthen ware of a superior quality to that of Spain, wood, coal, herbs, and medicinal plants. Here are houses for baths, and places for washing and shearing goats; in short, this city exhibits great regularity, and has a good police; the inhabitants are peculiarly neat, and far superior to the most industrious of the Africans." The city of Cholula is described by Bernal Diaz, as "resembling Valladolid," and containing 20,000 inhabitants. Both of these cities were of course vastly inferior to Mexico; but it is not necessary to detain the reader by a further attempt to prove the civilisation of the Mexicans. If we except the single article of Christian faith, in

which the Spaniards had the advantage of them, we question whether they were not, immediately previous to their subjugation, in a higher state of civilisation than their oppressors, whether they had not better practical views of civil liberty, more just notions of private right, and more of the amiable propensities and softer virtues of life.

Their laws were superior to those of the Greeks or Romans, and their magistrates more just. They punished with death their judges who passed a sentence that was unjust or contrary to law, or who made an incorrect statement of any cause to the king or to a superior magistrate, or who accepted a bribe. Any person who altered the measures established in their markets met with the same punishment. Guardians who wasted the estates of their wards were punished capitally. Drunkenness in their youth was punished with death; in persons more advanced in life, it was punished with severity, though not capitally. A nobleman, who was guilty of this vice, was stripped of his dignity, and rendered infamous; a plebeian was shaved and had his house demolished. Their maxim was that he who could voluntarily deprive himself of his senses, was unworthy of a habitation among men; but this law did not extend to the aged, who were allowed to drink as much as they pleased upon their own responsibility.

They had a good police, and excellent internal regulations. Couriers were maintained, by whom intelligence was regularly and rapidly transmitted. Their highways were annually repaired; in the mountains and uninhabited places, there were houses erected

for the accommodation of travellers; and they had bridges and boats for crossing rivers. The land was divided by appropriate boundaries, and owned by individuals, and the right of property in real as well as personal estate, was thoroughly understood and respected.

This subject is curious and highly interesting. Few are aware of the degree of civilisation which prevailed among the Mexicans and South American nations, previous to their conquest by the Spaniards—the intelligence, the kindness, the hospitality, and respectable virtues of the natives, and the atrocious character of the marauders by whom they were invaded, despoiled, and enslaved.

One instance, in proof of these assertions, may be found in a late fascinating work of a distinguished American writer, and is so affecting, and strongly in point, that I cannot forbear alluding to it. Vasco Nunez, one of the most celebrated of the conquerors of New Spain, and who, to great intrepidity of character, is described as having added a share of magnanimity, not usual among the Spanish captains of that day, had been hospitably received by one of the native princes. With the usual perfidy of his time and country, he made captives of the cacique, his wives, and children, and many of his people. He also discovered their store of provisions, and returned with his captives, and his booty, to Darien. When the unfortunate cacique beheld his family in chains, and in the hands of strangers, his heart was wrung with despair: "What have I done to thee," said he to Vasco Nunez, "that thou shouldst treat me thus

cruelly? None of thy people never came to my land that were not fed, and sheltered, and treated with loving kindness. When thou camest to my dwelling, did I meet thee with a javelin in my hand? Did I not set meat and drink before thee, and welcome thee as a brother? Set me free, therefore, with my family and people, and we will remain thy friends. We will supply thee with provisions, and reveal to thee the riches of the land. Dost thou doubt my faith? Behold my daughter, I give her to thee, as a pledge of friendship. Take her for thy wife, and be assured of the fidelity of her family and her people!"

"Vasco Nunez felt the force of these words, and knew the importance of forming a strong alliance among the natives. The captive maid also, as she stood trembling and dejected before him, found great favour in his eyes, for she was young and beautiful. He granted therefore the prayer of the cacique, and accepted his daughter, engaging, moreover, to aid the father against his enemies, on condition of his furnishing provision to the colony.

"Careta (the Indian prince) remained three days at Darien, during which time he was treated with the utmost kindness. Vasco Nunez took him on board his ships, and showed him every part of them. He displayed before him also the war horses, with their armour and rich caparisons, and astonished him with the thunder of artillery. Lest he should be too much daunted by these warlike spectacles, he caused the musicians to perform a harmonious concert, on their instruments, at which the cacique was lost in admiration. Thus having impressed him with a wonderful

idea of the power and endowments of his new allies, he loaded him with presents, and permitted him to depart.

“Careta returned joyfully to his territories, and his daughter remained with Vasco Nunez, *willingly*, for **HIS SAKE**, giving up her family and native home. They were never married, but she considered herself as his wife, as she really was, according to the usages of her own country, and he treated her with fondness, allowing her gradually to acquire a great influence over him.”—*Irving*.

I envy not the man who can read this affecting passage, without mingled emotions of admiration and pity. Who in this case displayed the attributes of savage barbarians? Was it the daring marauder, who violated the rules of hospitality? Was it the generous chief, who opened his heart and his house with confiding hospitality to the military stranger—who, when betrayed, appeals to his treacherous guest, with all the manly simplicity of an honest heart, mingled with the deep emotion of a bereaved parent and an insulted sovereign—and who, with the magnanimous patriotism of a Brutus, gave up his child, a young and beautiful maiden, to purchase the liberty of his people? Or was it the Indian maid adorned with graces that could win the heart of that ruthless soldier, “willingly for his sake giving up her family and native home,” discharging with devoted fidelity the duty of the most sacred relation in life, and achieving by her talents, and feminine attractions, a complete conquest over her country’s conqueror? Shame on the abuse of language, that would call such a people savage!

At a much later period, and when the Christian world was far more enlightened than in the days of Hernando Cortes, the British commenced their conquests in India; yet we do not find that the superior light which they possessed, both religious and political, had any other effect than to make them more refined in their cruelties. They acted over again in the East Indies, all the atrocities which had been perpetrated in New Spain, with this only difference, that they did not pretend to plead the apology of religious fanaticism. The Spaniards attempted to impose on others, and may possibly have succeeded in many instances in imposing upon themselves, the belief that they served God in oppressing the heathen; for their conquests were made in an intolerant age, when such opinions were prevalent. But the English had no such notions; for some of their best patriots and soundest divines had lived previous to the conquest of India, and the intellectual character of the nation was deeply imbued with the principles of civil and religious liberty before that period. The love of money and of dominion were their only incentives; and they pillaged, tortured, murdered, and enslaved a people as civilised and as gentle as the Mexicans, without the shadow of an excuse. The disclosures made before the British parliament, at the trial of Warren Hastings, justify these assertions, and subsequent events have shown that our kinsmen across the water have improved but little in their conduct towards their wretched dependencies.

The Dutch had at one time several colonies; but our information respecting them is but meagre, for that

worthy money-making people have always had the knack of keeping their own counsel, and have published but few of the records of their iniquities. We know enough, however, to satisfy us that the barbarous nations owe them no obligations.

Need we pursue the navigators of these and other nations to the different quarters of the globe into which scientific curiosity, mercantile enterprise, and naval skill have penetrated? Such an investigation would but add new facts in support of the positions we have taken; and we think it unnecessary to burthen an article like this with an accumulated mass of testimony. We prefer to throw out the hints, leaving the intelligent reader to make the application, and to draw the proofs from the stores of his own memory.

CHAPTER II.

The character and motives of the early discoverers—Their habitual cruelty and bad faith towards savage nations.

We may pause here to enquire, how it has happened, that wherever the civilised European has placed his foot upon heathen soil, he seems at once to have been transformed into a barbarian. All the refinements of civilised life seem to have been forgotten. His benevolence, his sensibility, his high sense of honour, his nice perception of justice, his guarded deportment, his long habits of integrity, punctuality and kindness, are all thrown aside; and not only has he been less honest than the savage in his private dealings, but has far out-stripped him in all the worst propensities of human nature—in avarice, revenge, rapine, bloodthirstiness, and wanton cruelty. To the capricious wantonness of the savage, and that prodigality of life which distinguished men accustomed to the restraints of law, and the ties of society, he had added the ingenuity of art, and the insolence of power. The lust of empire, and the lust of money, have given him incentives to crime which do not stimulate the Indian, and his intellectual elevation has furnished him with weapons of war, and engines of oppression, which have been wielded with a fearful energy of purpose, and a monstrous depravity of motive.

Nor were the desperate adventurers, who led the

van of discovery and conquest in heathen lands, alone implicated in the guilt of these transactions. They were sanctioned by the throne and the church. The pope formally delivered over the heathen into the hands of the secular power, the kings abandoned them to the military leaders, and the nobles, the merchants, the wealthy and reputable of all ranks, became partners in the outfit of these nefarious enterprises which were styled voyages of discovery—sharers in the pillage, and accessories in the slaughter, of inoffensive nations. We are struck with astonishment when we see the people of countries professing the Christian faith, having social regulations, and respecting in some sort a code of international law among themselves, thus turned in a moment into ruthless depredators, and trampling every maxim of justice, human and divine.

In searching out the moving causes of this apparently anomalous operation of the human mind, by which a change of circumstances seems to have produced an instantaneous and radical transformation of character, I remark, in the first place, that the age of discovery was an age of ignorance. None of the great fountains of light had yet been opened to pour out that flood of knowledge which has since penetrated to every quarter of the globe, and to disseminate those pure principles of conduct which now regulate the intercourse of men, and of nations. In Europe the great mass of the people—all of those whose united opinions make up what is called public sentiment, were alike destitute of moral culture; the ruler and the subject, the noble and the plebeian, the martial leader and the wretched peasant, were equally deficient

in literature and science. All knowledge was in the hands of the priests, and was by them perverted to the forwarding of their own selfish purposes. The great secret of their influence consisted in an ingenious concealment of all the sources of knowledge. The Bible, the only elevated, pure, and consistent code of ethics which the world has ever known, was a sealed book to the people. The ancient classics were carefully concealed from the public eye; and the few sciences which were at all cultivated, were enveloped in the darkness of the dead languages. No system could have been more ingenious or more successful, than thus to clothe the treasures of knowledge in languages difficult of attainment, and accessible only to the highborn and wealthy—for as the latter are precisely the persons who seldom undergo the labour of unlocking the stores of learning, and who still less frequently teach what they have acquired to others, or turn their acquisitions to any profitable account, such a system amounted in practice to a monopoly of learning in the hands of priesthood. And it is curious to remark—if I may be indulged in making the remark in this place—that the monastic system of education, thus originating in a foul conspiracy against the intellect of man, and designed to accumulate the stores of knowledge in the hands of a few, and to wither up the vigour and enterprise of the common people in the imbecility of hopeless ignorance, was the plan upon which all the colleges of Europe were at first founded; and is still the plan, with but little variation, of all our great seminaries of learning; the alumni of

which, if they ever acquire distinction, obtain it not by the aid, but in spite, of their college educations.

Not only were the people of that day destitute of education, but the intercourse of nations with each other, previous to the discovery of the mariner's compass, was extremely limited; and the wonderful facilities for gaining and diffusing intelligence, afforded by the art of navigation, had but just begun to operate in the days of Columbus and Cortes.

The little knowledge that existed was perverted and misapplied. Where there was little freedom of thought, and no general spirit of enquiry, precedents were indiscriminately adopted, however inconsistent, and examples blindly followed, however wicked or absurd. The scholar found authority for every crime in the classics of heathen nations, who have left nothing behind them worthy of admiration, except a few splendid specimens of useless luxury and worthless refinement, and some rare fragments of magnanimity and virtue: while their literature abounds in incentives to ambition, rapine, and violence. The few who read the scriptures wrested the precepts of revelation, and the history of the primitive nations, into authority for their own high-handed aggressions, and because distinctions were made between the Jews and the heathens by whom they were surrounded, presumptuously or ignorantly supposed that the same relation continued to exist between the true believer and the heretic, and that the latter were "given to them for an inheritance." How manifold have been the crimes perpetrated in the name of religion! How numerous have been the aberrations from rectitude, committed

under the too common mistake of following the examples of history, instead of being admonished by its warnings!

The era now under contemplation was a martial age. Ambition expended all its energies in the pursuit of military glory; the fervours of genius were all conducted into this channel, and, confined in every other direction, burst forth like a volcano, in the flame and violence of warlike achievement. The only road to fame, or to preferment, led across the battle field; the hero waded to power through seas of blood, or strode to affluence over the carcasses of the slain; and they who sat in high places were accustomed to look upon carnage as a necessary agent, or an unavoidable incident, to greatness. The people were every where accustomed to scenes of violence. The right of conquest was universally acknowledged, and success was the criterion of merit. The act of gaining, and the power to maintain by fraud or force, always vested a sufficient title. Private rights, whether of person or property, were little understood, and universally disregarded; and national justice in any enlarged, systematic sense, was neither practised nor professed. Certain chivalrous courtesies, there were, undoubtedly, practised among the military and the high-born, and gleams of magnanimity occasionally flashed out, amid the gloom of anarchy; but they afforded no steady light nor warmth. They were the grim civilities of warriors, or the formal politeness of the great, which did not pervade the mass of the people, and tended not to refine the age, nor soften the asperities of oppression.

It was besides an age of intolerance, bigotry, super-

stitution and clerical despotism; when those who regulated the minds and consciences of men, were monsters of depravity, monuments of perverted taste, intellect, and morals, anomalies in the intercourse of human life—men who lived estranged from society, aliens from its business, strangers to its domestic relations, enemies to its best interest, its noblest virtues, its kindest affections; but who yet presided at the altars, and in the courts of justice, who stood behind the throne and in the closet, who held the heart-strings of the peasant and the peer, and wielded the revenues of empires, while they grasped the hard earnings of the industrious poor. It was in short, the age of the inquisition and the rack; when opinions were regulated by law and enforced by the stake and the spear; and when departures from established maxims were punished by torture, disfranchisement, and death.

Under such auspices, commenced the intercourse of civilised with savage nations; and unfortunately, the pioneers who led the way in the discovery and colonisation of new countries were, with a few bright exceptions, the worst men of their time—the priest, the soldier, and the mariner; men inured to cruelty, violence, and rapine, and from whose codes of religion, morality, and law, imperfect as they were, the poor heathen was entirely excluded. It is easy, therefore, to discover the motives which governed all their actions. Accustomed to oppress and to cringe, they knew no law but that of self-defence, or self-aggrandisement. They were loose in principle, and unrestrained in the indulgence of their passions. The

ties that bound them to each other, or to society, were weak ; but with the savage they had no communion of interest or feeling.

When we recollect how lasting are first impressions, and how difficult it is to eradicate a deeply seated prejudice, we need not be surprised that the odious conduct of the first European discoverers should have created repulsive associations in the savage mind, which time has not been able to obliterate. When confidence was repaid by treachery, and kindness by insult, resentment of the most vindictive character was awakened, and all subsequent intercourse has but contributed to widen the breach. The evil example set by the first conquerors, operated with contagious seduction upon those who followed, inducing from generation to generation a similar course of conduct, softened only in the degree of its turpitude, by the general amelioration of the human character, but unchanged in kind. And when we reflect farther how almost impossible it is to soothe the irritation of excited passions ; and to build up social and kind relations, in the midst of a chaos of tumult, crime, and violence—it is not difficult to trace out the chain of circumstances, acting with the certainty of cause and effect, which have perpetuated the errors and misdeeds of the first discoverers through the successive generations of their descendants, and operating with equal power upon the unhappy victims of oppression.

CHAPTER III.

First settlements in North America—The Pilgrims—Settlers of Virginia.

We have attempted to show what was the public sentiment of all Christendom, in reference to the savage tribes inhabiting the new countries which began to be visited by Europeans, at that period when the singular union of military ardour and commercial enterprise induced the prosecution of so many voyages of discovery and conquest. It is obvious that the first aggression was almost invariably committed by the whites; yet history does not afford the slightest evidence that any public disapprobation was manifested, either by the governments or people of those countries whose adventurers were overrunning the uncivilised parts of the world in search of plunder, and in the perpetration of every species of enormity. Savages were not recognised as having any rights. A classic hatred of barbarians, or a holy zeal against unbelievers, animated all classes of society, and sanctioned every outrage which was inflicted in the name of religion or civilisation, by lawless adventurers, upon the unoffending inhabitants of newly discovered regions.

In the settlement of North America, the conduct of the whites towards the Indians was far less blameable than in the instances above quoted; but

it was by no means free from violence. The founders of New England were a pious race, who brought with them a political creed far more enlightened, and a much purer system of moral action, than any portion of Europe had yet learned to tolerate. They were disposed to act conscientiously in their public, as well as their private concerns; and their relations with the Indians were commenced in amity and good faith. Their great fault was their religious intolerance. Theirs was an intolerant age; and it is not surprising that a people who persecuted one another on account of sectarian differences of opinion, should have little charity for unbelievers. They who burned old women for indulging in the innocent pastime of riding on broom-sticks, fined quakers for wearing broad brimmed hats, and enacted, from the purest impulse of conscience, all the other extravagances of the blue laws, may well have fancied themselves privileged to oppress the uncivilised Indian. They could not brook the idea of associating with heathens as with equals. They looked upon them with scorn, and negotiated with them as with inferiors. However a sense of duty might restrain them from open insult or injury, they could not conceal their abhorrence of the persons and principles of their new allies. That a free untamed race, accustomed to no superiors, should long remain in amicable intercourse with a precise sectarian people, who held them in utter aversion, was not to be expected; and accordingly we find that the hollow friendship of these parties was soon interrupted. The stern ancestors of the Warrens, and Putnams, and Adamses, however

well they understood the *fortiter in re*, were but indifferently skilled in the *suaviter in modo*. Wars ensued, and no lasting peace was ever restored, until the Indian tribes were extinguished or driven from the country.

We consider this the fairest instance that could be quoted in proof of the universal prevalence of that public sentiment in relation to savages to which we have alluded. "The settlement of New England," says one of the most respectable of our historians, "purely for the purpose of religion, and the propagation of civil and religious liberty, is an event which has no parallel in the history of modern ages. The piety, self-denial, sufferings, patience, perseverance, and magnanimity of the first settlers of the country, are without a rival. The happy and extensive consequences of the settlements which they made, and of the sentiments which they were careful to propagate to their posterity, to the church, and to the world, admit of no description." We are not disposed to dispute a word of this proposition, extravagant as it may seem. There is a simple yet a sublime beauty displayed in the character of the pilgrim fathers, a purity and steadiness of purpose evinced in the history of their enterprise, an adherence to virtuous principle in their action and legislation, which throw a halo of glory around their names, and entitle them to be remembered with veneration. The perversion of public opinion, which could induce such men, themselves the victims of oppression, and the asserters of liberal principles, to treat the savages as brutes, must have been wide spread and deeply seated; yet such was certainly their conduct.

When we remark the weakness of the first settlements in New England, remember that their infant villages were on several occasions almost depopulated by famine and sickness, it is obvious that the Indians must have been peaceably disposed towards them, as there were several periods at which they could with ease have exterminated all the colonists. We have, however, on this subject, positive evidence. Trumbull, the historian of Connecticut, who has collected all the oldest authorities with great care, says that "the English lived in tolerable peace with all the Indians in Connecticut and New England, except the Pequots, for about forty years."

"The Indians, at their first settlement, performed many acts of kindness towards them. They instructed them in the manner of planting and dressing the Indian corn. They carried them upon their backs through rivers and waters; and, as occasion required, served them instead of boats and bridges. They gave them much useful information respecting the country, and when the English or their children were lost in the woods, and were in danger of perishing with cold or hunger, they conducted them to their wigwams, fed them, and restored them to their families and parents. By selling their corn when pinched with famine, they relieved their distresses and prevented their perishing in a strange land and uncultivated wilderness."—Vol. i. p. 57.

How did the puritans repay this kindness, or what had they done to deserve it? Their first act was one which was calculated to create disgust and awaken jealousy. William Holmes, of Plymouth, carried a

colony into Connecticut, and settled them at Windsor, where he built the first house that was ever erected in that state. A number of sachems, "who were the original owners of the soil, had been driven from this part of the country by the Pequots, and were now carried home on board Holmes's vessel. *Of them the Plymouth people purchased the land on which they erected their house.*" Intruders themselves, in a strange country, they came accompanied by persons towards whom the inhabitants were hostile, undertook to decide who were the rightful owners of the soil, and purchased from the party which was not in possession. And what was the consequence? The Indians were offended at their bringing home the original proprietors and lords of the country, and the Dutch,"—who had settled there before them—"that they had settled there, and were about to rival them in trade, and in the possession of those excellent lands upon the river; they *were obliged therefore to combat both, and to keep a constant watch upon them.*"

Notwithstanding the unhappy impression which some of the early acts of the puritans were calculated to produce upon the minds of the Indians, the latter continued to be their friends. In the winter of 1635 the settlements on Connecticut river were afflicted by famine. Some of the settlers, driven by hunger, attempted their way, in this severe season, through the wilderness, from Connecticut to Massachusetts. Of thirteen in one company, who made this attempt, one, in passing the rivers, fell through the ice and was drowned. "The other twelve were ten days on their journey, and would all have perished had it not

been for the assistance of the Indians." * * * *
 "The people who kept their stations on the river suffered in an extreme degree. After all the help they were able to obtain by hunting, and from the Indians, they were obliged to subsist on acorns, malt, and grain." * * * * "Numbers of cattle which could not be got over the river before winter, lived through without any thing but what they found in the woods and meadows. They wintered as well, or better than those which were brought over."—*Winthrop's Journal*, p. 88.

"It is difficult to describe, or even to conceive, the apprehensions and distresses of a people in the circumstances of our venerable ancestors, during this doleful winter. All the horrors of a dreary wilderness spread themselves around them. They were encompassed with numerous, fierce, and cruel tribes, of wild and savage men, who could have swallowed up parents and children at pleasure, in their feeble and distressed condition. They had neither bread for themselves nor children; neither habitations nor clothing convenient for them. Whatever emergency might happen, they were cut off, both by land and water, from any succour or retreat. What self-denial, firmness and magnanimity, are necessary for such enterprises! How distressful, in the beginning, was the condition of these now fair and opulent towns on Connecticut river!"—*Trumbull's Connecticut*, vol. i. p. 63.

Yet those "wild and savage men, who could have swallowed up parents and children," did not avail themselves of this tempting opportunity to rid their

country of the intruding whites. On the contrary, they proved their best friends, aided those who fled, sustained those who remained, and suffered the cattle of the strangers to roam unmolested through the woods, while they themselves were procuring a precarious subsistence by the chase. If ever kindness, honesty, and forbearance were practised with scrupulous fidelity, in the face of strong temptation inciting to an opposite course of conduct, it was on this occasion.

This humane deportment on the part of the Indians seems to have been considered by the puritans as mere matter of course, and as not imposing upon them any special obligation of gratitude, for no sooner did a state of war occur, than all sense of indebtedness to the Indians appears to have been obliterated, and the whites vied with their enemies in the perpetration of wanton cruelty. Within two years after the famine alluded to we are informed by Trumbull that a party under Captain Stoughton, "surrounded a large body of Pequots in a swamp. They took eighty captives. Thirty were men, the rest were women and children. The men, except two sachems, *were killed*, but the women and children were saved. The sachems promised to conduct the English to Sassacus, and *for that purpose* were spared *for the present*. The reader will doubtless feel some curiosity to know what was done with the women and children, who were saved, by those who had massacred in cold blood thirty men, save two, taken prisoners in battle. The same historian thus details the sequel. "The Pequot women and children who had been captivated, were divided

among the troops. Some were carried to Connecticut, others to Massachusetts. The people of Massachusetts sent a number of the women and boys to the West Indies, and sold them as slaves. It was supposed that about seven hundred Pequots were destroyed." "This happy event," concludes the historian, alluding to the conclusion of the war, by the extermination or captivity of so many of the Indians, "gave great joy to the colonies. A day of public thanksgiving was appointed; and, in all the churches of New England, devout and animated praises were addressed to Him who giveth his people the victory, and causeth them to dwell in safety."

In the southern colonies, we find the same consequences, resulting from nearly the same causes, evinced however in a somewhat different mode of conduct. The English were kindly received by the natives, but no sustained effort was systematically made by the former to sustain the cordiality so vitally necessary to their own interests.

Captain John Smith informs us, that "the most famous, renowned, and ever worthy of all memory, for her courage, learning, judgment, and virtue, Queen Elizabeth, granted her letters patent to Sir Walter Raleigh for the discovering and planting new lands and countries not actually possessed by any Christians. This patentee got to be his assistants Sir Richard Grenvell the valiant, Mr. William Sanderson a great friend to all such noble and worthy actions; and divers other gentlemen and marchants, who with all speede provided two small barkes well furnished with necessaries, under the command of Captaine Philip

Amidas, and Captaine Barlow. The 27 of Aprill they set sayle from the Thames, the 10th of May passed the Canaries, and the 10th of June, the West Indies," &c. "The second of July they fell in with the coast of Florida, in shoule water, where they felt a most delicate sweete smell, though they saw no land, which ere long they espied," &c.

Here we find that the power delegated by the government to these adventurers, was simply for the discovering and planting new lands, not actually possessed by other Christians; but although the rights of *other Christians* are thus reserved, no regard seems to have been paid to those of the aboriginal possessors of the countries to be discovered. With respect to them the voyagers were at full liberty to act as their own judgment or caprice might direct. The inhabitants received them with confidence. "Till the third day we saw not any of the people, then in a little boat three of them appeared, one of them went on shore to whom we rowed, and he attended vs without any signe of feare; after he had spoke much though wee vnderstood not a word, of his owne accord he came boldly aboard vs, we gave him a shirt, a hat, wine and meate, which he liked well, and after he had well viewed the barkes and vs, he went away in his owne boat, and within a quarter of a myle of vs in halfe an houre had loaded his boat with fish, with which he came againe to the poynt of land, and there divided it in two parts, poynting one part to the ship, the other to the pinnace, and so departed."—*Smith's Hist. Virg.* vol. i. p. 82.

"The next day came diuers boats, and in one of them

the king's brother, with forty or fifty men, proper people, and in their behaviour very ciuil," &c. "Though we came to him well armed, he made signs to vs to sit downe without any show of feare, stroking his head and brest, and also ours, to expresse his loue. After he had made a long speech vnto vs, we presented him with diuers toyes, which he kindly accepted.

"A day or two after shewing them what we had, Granganameo taking most liking to a pewter dish, made a hole in it, hung it about his neck for a brest-plate, for which he gaue vs twenty deere skins, worth twenty crowns; and for a copper kettle, fiftie skins, worth fiftie crownes. Much other trucke we had, and after two dayes he came aboard, and did eate and drinke with vs very merrily. Not long after he brought his wife and children," &c.

"After that these women had been here with vs, there came doune from all parts great store of people, with leather, corral, and diuers kinde of dyes, but when Granganameo was present, none durst trade but himself, and them that wore red copper on their heads, as he did. Whenever he came he would signifie by so many fires he came with so many boats, that we might knowe his strength. Their boats but one great tree, which is but burnt in the form of a trough with gins and fire, till it be as they would haue it. For an armour he would haue engaged vs a bagge of pearle, but we refused, as not regarding it, that wee might the better learn where it grew. He was very iust of his promise, for oft wee trusted him, and would come within his day to keepe his word. He sent vs commonly every day a brace of bucks, conies, hares,

and fish, sometimes mellons, walnuts, cucumbers, pease, and diuers rootes. This author sayeth, their corne groweth three times in five months; in May they sowe, in Iuly reape; in Iune they sow, in August reape."

It is difficult to separate the truth from the fiction in these early histories. There seems to be an inherent propensity for exaggeration in English travellers, which has pervaded their works, and cast a shade upon the national character for veracity, from the earliest times, to the present. We all know that corn cannot be planted either in June or July and reaped in August in any part of our country; and the story of the "bagge of pearl" is very questionable; but we may believe the evidence of the voyagers as to the hospitality with which they were received by the natives, because in these statements they all agree, and we have ample reason to believe that such was usually the deportment of the aborigines towards the Europeans who first visited our shores. The historian of this voyage sums the whole up in the expression, "a more kind loving people cannot be," and adds, "this discovery was so welcome into England that it pleased her maiestie to call this country of Wingandacoa, *Virginia*, by which name you are now to vnderstand how it was planted, disolued, reuned, and enlarged."

In 1585 Sir Richard Grenville, "departed from Plimouth with 7 sayle, for Virginia." On his first arrival, we are told "At Aquascogoc the Indians stole a siluer cup, wherefore we burnt the towne and spoyled their corne, so returned to our fleete at Tocokow." Here we see how the hostilities between the whites

and the Indians commenced. All the hospitality of those who were before lauded as a "kind loving people," was effaced by a single depredation, committed most probably by a lawless individual whose act would have been disavowed by the tribe; and in revenge for the stealing of a silver cup, a town was burned, and the cornfields of the people destroyed. Dr. Williamson, the historian of North Carolina, remarks, "the passionate and rash conduct of Sir Richard Grenville, cost the nation many a life. The fair beginning of a hopeful colony was obscured, it was nearly defeated, by resenting the loss of a silver cup."

Another voyager, John Brierton, who accompanied Capt. Gosnoll in 1690, to Virginia, speaks of the "many signes of loue and friendship," displayed by the Indians, "that did help vs to dig, and carry saxafras, and doe any thing they could." "Some of the baser sort would steale; but the better sort," he continues, "we found very civill and iust." He describes the women as fat and well favoured; and concludes, "The wholesomeness and temperature of this climate, doth not onely argue the people to be answerable to this description, but also of a perfect constitution of body, actiue, strong, healthful, and very witty, as the sundry toyes by them so cunningly wrought may well testifie."

Captain Smith, who visited Virginia subsequently, found the people "most civill to giue entertainment." He declares that "such great and well proportioned men are seldome seene, for they seemed like giants to the English, yea and to the neighbours, yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, with much adoe restrained them from adoring vs as gods." In ano-

ther place he says, "They are very strong, of an able body and full of agilitie, able to endure to lie in the woods vnder a tree by the fire, in the worst of winter, or in the weeds and grasse, in ambuscade in the summer. They are inconstant in every thing, but what fear constraineth them to keepe. Craftie, timerous, quicke of apprehension, and very ingenuous. Some are of disposition fearful, some bold, most cautelous, and savage." "Although the country people be very barbarous, yet haue they amongst them such government, as that their magistrates for good commanding, and their people for due subjection and obeying, excel many places that would be accounted very civill."—*Smith's Hist.* vol. i. p. 142.

Another early writer on the settlement of Virginia, William Timons, "doctour of divinitie," remarks, "It might well be thought, a countrie so faire (as Virginia is) and a people so tractable, would long ere this have been quietly possessed, to the satisfaction of the adventurers, and the eternising of the memory of those that effected it." We need not multiply these proofs. History abounds in facts which prove the position we have taken; and the intelligent reader will readily be able to draw from the store of his own memory the evidence which will convict the white man of being almost invariably the aggressor in that unnatural war, which has now been raging for centuries between the civilised and savage races.

Several fruitless attempts were made to plant a colony in Virginia, before that enterprise succeeded. "The emigrants, notwithstanding the orders they received, had never been solicitous to cultivate the

good will of the natives, and had neither *asked permission* when they occupied their country, nor *given a price for their valuable property*, which was violently taken away. The miseries of famine were soon super-added to the horrors of massacre." (*See Chalmers' Political Annals, under the head of Virginia.*) Yet under all the disasters suffered by that colony, and with repeated examples and admonitions to warn them, they could never bring themselves to entertain sufficient respect for the Indians to treat them with civility, or negotiate with them in good faith. Their great error was that they did not consider themselves in their intercourse with savages, bound by the same moral obligations which would have governed their dealings with civilised men. In their deportment they were loose and careless; they threw off the ordinary restraints of social life; the decent and sober virtues were laid aside; and while as individuals they forfeited confidence by their irregularities, they lost it as a body politic, by weak councils and bad faith. It is to be recollected that the colonists were intruders in a strange land; they had to *establish* a character. Their very coming was suspicious. There was no reason why the natives should think them *better* than they seemed; but many why they might suspect them to be *worse*. The Indians having few virtues in their simple code, practise those which they do profess with great punctuality; among these are truth, and the faithful observance of treaties; and they could not but lightly esteem those who openly set at defiance all that they themselves hold sacred. That no attempt was made to convert or civilise the aborigines, nor any liberal feeling indulged towards them, will not be

thought surprising, when we find the colonial governor of Virginia, so late as the year 1760, using the following language in a letter to his government :—" I thank God there are no free schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them for these hundred years. For learning has brought disobedience, heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the government. God keep us from both!" Such were the persons by whom the *first impression* of our character was made upon the Indian mind !

We mention these facts for the purpose of showing that civilised nations have never yet made a fair experiment of the practicability of christianising the savage tribes ; for although efforts of this kind have been attempted upon a limited scale, they have every where been preceded and neutralised by injuries and insults of so flagitious a character, as to induce those upon whom they were perpetrated, to look with jealousy upon all subsequent advances, however apparently benevolent, from the same quarter. We do not mean to infer that the breach is so wide that it can never be repaired ; but merely to refute those who tell us that the Indians cannot be civilised, by showing that their assertions are not supported by evidence. Before we could admit a conclusion which would present so strange a paradox in the philosophy of the human mind, it must be shown that civilisation has been presented to them in an amiable aspect, that it has been offered upon terms which they could accept with credit and advantage, and that the invitation has been given by those in whose professions they had some reason to place confidence.

CHAPTER IV.

Conduct of William Penn and his followers towards the Indians
—Amicable Intercourse between the French and Indians in
Illinois.

In order to make out the case which we have proposed, it is necessary to show not only that the whites have abused the hospitality, trampled on the rights, and exasperated the feelings of the Indians, without any just provocation, but that a contrary course of policy would have been practicable, as well as expedient. If the Indians are constitutionally inaccessible to the approaches of kindness,—if they are wholly intractable—if they can form no just appreciation of the conduct of other men, and are incapable of gratitude—the question is at rest. But we apprehend that the Indians might have been conciliated by kindness, just as easily as they were provoked by violence; and that the foundations of mutual esteem and confidence might have been laid as deep, and as broad, and have been reared up with a solidity as durable, as those of that stupendous fabric of revenge, hatred, and deception which has grown up and is now witnessed with emotions of dismay and sorrow by all good men.

We think we can prove that we have rightly estimated the conduct of civilised nations, and its influence on the savage tribes, in the instances which we have quoted, by referring to two others in which a

contrary policy was pursued, and in both of which the results justify our position. The first is the case of William Penn, whose great wisdom and benevolence have never, in our opinion, been estimated as highly as they deserve, and who, however highly he is appreciated, has never yet received the full amount of applause which is his due, as a statesman and philanthropist. In uniting these characters, and acting practically upon the broad principles of justice, he was in advance of the age in which he lived, and was neither understood nor imitated. Even in Pennsylvania, his influence expired, and his example was forgotten, as soon as he ceased to be himself the moving agent of that system which his successors either did not comprehend, or had not sufficient virtue to approve.

This enlightened man in his public conduct consulted his conscience, his sense of right and wrong, and his knowledge of human nature. He believed that the Indians had souls. He treated them individually as human beings, as men, as friends; and negotiated with their tribes as with independent, dignified, and responsible public bodies, trusting implicitly in their honour and pledging in sincerity his own. He was a man of enlarged views, whose mind was above the petty artifices of diplomacy, which were considered justifiable by the statesmen of his day. He not only knew that such arts were dishonest, and condemned them as against conscience, but he also saw clearly that honesty was the best policy. "His great mind was uniformly influenced in his intercourse with the aborigines by those immutable principles of justice,

which every where, and for all purposes, must be regarded as fundamental, if human exertions are to be crowned with noble and permanent results. (*Vaux's Anniversary Discourse.*) In the 13th, 14th, and 15th sections of the constitution of his colony, it was provided, as follows: "No man shall, by any ways or means, in word or deed, affront or wrong an Indian, but he shall incur the *same penalty* of the law as if he had committed it against his fellow planter, and if any Indian shall abuse, in word or deed, any planter of the province, he shall not be *his own judge upon the Indian*, but he shall make his complaint to the governor, or some inferior magistrate near him, who shall, to the utmost of his power, take care with the king of the said Indian, that all reasonable satisfaction be made to the injured planter. All differences between the planters and the natives shall also be ended by *twelve men; that is, six planters, and six natives*; that so we may live friendly together as much as in us lieth, preventing *all occasions* of heart-burnings and mischiefs," and that "the Indians shall have liberty to do all things relative to improvement of their ground, and providing sustenance for their families, that any of the planters shall enjoy."

In these simple articles we find the very essence of all good government: *equality of rights*. Instead of making one rule of action for the whites and another for the Indians, the same mode and measure of justice is prescribed to both; and while his strict adherence to the great principles of civil and religious freedom, entitle the virtuous Penn to the highest place as a lawgiver and benefactor of mankind, it justly earned

for him from the Indians especially, the affectionate title by which they always spoke of him : " their great and good Onas." The result was, that so long as Pennsylvania remained under the immediate government of its founder, the most amicable relations were maintained with the natives. His scheme of government embraced no military arm ; neither troops, forts, nor an armed peasantry. The doctrine of keeping peace by being prepared for war, entered not into his system ; his maxim was to avoid "*all occasions of heart burnings and mischiefs,*" and to retain the friendship of his neighbours by never appearing to doubt it. The Indians, savage as they are represented to be, and as indeed they are, were awed and won by a policy so just and pacific ; and the Quakers had no Indian wars. The horrors of the firebrand, and the tomahawk, of which other colonists had such dreadful experience, were unknown to them, and they cultivated their farms in peace, with no other armour than the powerful name of Penn, and the inoffensiveness of their own lives. In Watson's " Account of Buckingham and Solebury," (in Pennsylvania,) published in the Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, we find the following striking remarks :—" In 1690, there were many settlements of Indians in these townships." * * * * " Tradition reports that they were kind neighbours, supplying the white people with meat, and sometimes with beans and other vegetables ; which they did *in perfect charity*, bringing presents to their houses, and *refusing pay*. Their children were sociable and fond of play. A harmony arose out of their mutual intercourse and dependence.

Native simplicity reigned, in its greatest extent. The difference between the families of the white man and the Indian, in many respects, was not great—when to live was the greatest hope, and to enjoy a bare sufficiency the greatest luxury." (Vol i. part 2, p. 298.) This passage requires no comment; so strongly does it contrast with the accounts of the other new settlements, and so fully does it display the fruits of a prudent and equitable system of civil administration.

But we do not rest our case here. There are many facts connected with the settlements upon the Delaware river, which are extremely interesting. The Swedes, who were the first occupants, date back as far as the year 1631, and remained in possession of a number of places, for something like forty years, previous to the arrival of Penn. That they lived in harmony with the Indians is obvious from two facts, which must be received as the best evidence in the absence of all positive proof on the subject; the one is the fact that they did exist and prosper, and were not exterminated, and the other that Penn found the Indians friendly, notwithstanding their long intercourse with the Swedes. Had the conduct of the latter been oppressive, or their intercourse with the savages interrupted by hostilities, Penn would not have been received with the cordiality and confidence which marked his first interviews with the tribes, and characterised all his relations with them.

It is a singular circumstance that the quakers had so much confidence in their own system of peace and forbearance, that they did not erect a fort, nor organise any militia for their defence, but went on quietly

building, clearing land, farming, and trading, not only without actual molestation from the Indians, but without any apprehension of danger. In the journals and fragments of history handed down to us, from these early settlers, we read affecting accounts of their sufferings from sickness, poverty, hunger, exposure—from every cause which ordinarily afflicts the helpless infancy of a colony, except war—but we read of no wars, no rumours of war. Of the Indians but little is said. They are only mentioned incidentally, and then always with kindness. “In those times,” says one of their historians, “the Indians and Swedes were kind and active to bring in, and vend at moderate prices, proper articles of subsistence.” An instance is told of a lady, Mrs. Chandler, who arrived at Philadelphia with eight or nine children, having lost her husband on the voyage out. She was lodged in a cave on the bank of the river, and being perfectly destitute, was a subject of general compassion. The people were kind to them, and none more so than the Indians, who frequently brought them food. “In future years,” says our authority, “when the children grew up, they always remembered the kind Indians, and took many opportunities of befriending them and their families in return.” An old lady, whose recollections have been recorded by one of her descendants, was present at one of Penn’s first interviews with the “Indians and Swedes”—for she names them together, as if they acted in concert, or at least in harmony. “They (the Indians and Swedes) met him at or near the present Philadelphia. The Indians, as well as the whites, had severally prepared the best entertainment

the place and circumstances could admit. William Penn made himself endeared to the Indians by his marked condescension and acquiescence in their wishes. He walked with them, sat with them on the ground, and ate with them of their roasted acorns and homany. At this they expressed great delight, and some began to show how they could hop and jump; at which exhibition, William Penn, to cap the climax, sprang up and beat them all!"

The date of Penn's patent was in 1681, and he governed Pennsylvania until 1712. In 1744, a petition was addressed by the city council of Philadelphia to the king, "Setting forth the defenceless state of said city, and requesting his majesty to take the defenceless condition of the inhabitants into consideration, and afford them such relief as his majesty shall think fit." This is the first record that we find, in which allusion is made to military defences in that colony.

The other instance which we shall adduce, we deem to be particularly apposite, as it occurred at the same period, under similar circumstances, and among a people the very reverse of the quakers in character, and who had not the slightest communication or connection with them. The French settled at Kaskaskia previous to the year 1700. We cannot fix the precise date; but there are deeds now on record in the public offices at that place, which bear date in 1712, and it is evident that several years must have elapsed from the first settling of the colony, before regular transfers of real estate could take place, and before there could have been officers authorised to authenticate such proceedings. It is the general understanding of

the old French settlers, and we suppose the fact to be so, that Philadelphia, Detroit, and Kaskaskia, were settled about the same time. The French in Illinois lived upon the most amicable terms with the Indians. Like the quakers, they kept up a mutual interchange of friendly offices, treating them with kindness and equity, and dealing with them upon terms of perfect equality. They even intermarried with them—which the quakers could not do, without being turned out of meeting—and showed them in various ways that they considered them as fellow creatures, having a parity of interests, principles, and feelings with themselves. “Their nearest civilised neighbours were the English on the shores of the Atlantic, distant a thousand miles, from whom they were separated by a barrier then insurmountable, and with whom they had no more intercourse than with the Chinese.” They had five villages on the Mississippi; Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, Saint Philippe, Fort Chartres, and Cahokia. Fort Chartres was a very strong fortification, and might have protected the village of the same name adjacent to it; there was a fort at Kaskaskia,—but it was small, and being on the opposite side of the river from the town, could have afforded little protection to the latter from an attack of the Indians; the only other fortress was at Cahokia, and is described by an early writer as “no way distinguished except by being the meanest log house in the town.” The villages of Prairie du Rocher and Saint Philippe had no military defences. Yet we do not hear of burnings and scalping among the early settlers of that region. Now and then an affray occurred between a Frenchman

and an Indian, and occasionally a life was lost : but these were precisely the kind of exceptions which prove the truth of a general rule ; for such accidents must have been the result of departures by individuals from those principles of amity which were observed by the respective communities to which they belonged. The French were expert in the use of fire arms, they roamed far and wide into the Indian country, and it would have been a strange anomaly in the history of warriors and hunters, had no personal conflicts ensued. But these affairs did not disturb the general harmony. The Indians even suffered themselves to be baptised ; and at one time a large portion of the Kaskaskia tribe professed the Roman Catholic faith.

The results are known to every reader of American history. No sooner did Penn cease to rule in Pennsylvania than that colony began to be desolated by Indian wars. With him ceased all good faith with the tribes. His successors had neither his talents, his honesty, nor his firmness ; they followed none of his precepts, nor kept any of his engagements. Rum and gunpowder were freely used in the colony, and sold to the Indians. The planters began to arm in self-defence. *Occasions of offence* were frequent, and no effort was made to prevent them. The “ great and good Onas ” was no longer there to pour out his kind spirit, like oil, upon the waves of human passion. Hostilities ensued ; the frontiers of Pennsylvania suffered all the horrors of border war, and the sentiment expressed by William Penn in 1682, proved to be prophetic : “ If my heirs do not keep to God, in justice, mercy, equity,

and fear of the Lord, they will lose all, and desolation will follow."

The same result occurred on the Mississippi, in Illinois. The amiable French lived in peace with the Indians for a whole century; but as soon as the "Long Knives" began to emigrate to the country, hostilities commenced, and continued until the whites gained the complete mastery.

In order to give full weight to these facts, and to our argument, it must be recollected that national prejudices are most deeply rooted and most lasting among unenlightened people. Those simple and unlettered tribes whose only occupations are war and hunting, hand down their traditions with singular fidelity from generation to generation. The only mental culture which the children receive, consists in repeating to them the adventures of their fathers, and the infant mind is thus indelibly impressed with all the predilections and antipathies of the parent; while their traditions are spread from tribe to tribe, by the historical tales and songs, repeated at their great councils. Among them, too, revenge is a hallowed principle, sucked in with the mother's milk, and justified by their code of honour, and the precepts of their religion; the wound inflicted upon the father rankles in the bosom of the child, and is only healed when recompense is made, or retaliation inflicted. We infer, then, that we owe the unhappy state of feeling which exists between the Indians and ourselves, to injuries inflicted on them and prejudices excited, by the discoverers and first colonists; and to the want of sincere, judicious, and patient exertions for reconciliation on our part.

CHAPTER V.

**System of intercourse with the Indians established by the British
—Giving presents—Agents—System adopted by the American
government—Interference by English agents.**

We turn now to a later period, and to another branch of our subject, for the purpose of showing that the Indian mind, already poisoned against us, has been corrupted by the whites by the inculcation of bad principles and wrong views; and that the honest feelings of resentment at first indulged, have, by our agency, become mercenary and vindictive.

At a very early period, the English and French colonists were engaged in wars with each other, and both parties endeavoured to conciliate the aborigines, and to secure their co-operation by making them presents. We have no evidence, that previous to our negotiations with the tribes, they were in the habit of making valuable presents to each other, upon such occasions. Among the oriental nations, from whom they are supposed by some to be descended, gifts of great value are made upon all solemn public conventions, legal decisions are bought with a price, and offices and honours put to sale. Something of the same kind prevailed in South America, where the natives were wealthy; but the North American Indians were poor, and we suspect that among them presents were only made at their treaties in token of

sincerity, and without any regard to the value of the offering. We intend to apply this observation, of course, to cases where the parties treated upon terms of perfect equality; for among all nations, civilised and savage, the principles of reciprocity are sometimes trampled under foot, and a subdued party usually purchases peace. It is also true, that treaties have always been least faithfully observed, among those nations where custom requires the weaker party to purchase the friendship of the stronger by large bribes; because the faith that is bought and sold is never sincere; one party is governed by fear, the other by rapacity, and while the one is always seeking pretences to impose new exactions, the other is ever watching to obtain revenge or indemnity. Thus it was with us and our Indian neighbours. The presents which at first were voluntarily given, and received with gratitude, soon became periodical, and began at last to be demanded as of right. The Indians acted precisely as the pirates of the Barbary States have always done under similar circumstances. They saw their situation enabled them to harass the whites, and that the latter were always willing to avert their hostility by the payment of a valuable consideration. Implements of war, and articles of luxury, were introduced among them, to which they had previously been strangers; new wants were created, without the simultaneous creation of any means to supply them; every treaty with their wealthy neighbours brought in fresh stores of those foreign products, which their own country did not afford, which their own industry could not produce, and which they could

not procure in sufficient abundance, either by traffic or by plunder ; and it became clearly their interest to multiply *the occasions* of such profitable diplomacy. They therefore made war whenever they needed supplies ; whenever cupidity or famine goaded the nation, or ambition stimulated a ruling chief ; and they made peace whenever a sufficient inducement was tendered to their acceptance. They no longer fought for fame or conquest, to redress wrong, or retrieve honour, and the military virtues that usually attend those who are impelled into action by those noble impulses, entirely forsook them ; we had made them banditti ; and they made war to get money, rum, guns, and gunpowder. The pernicious system of giving them regular supplies of arms, ammunition, clothing, and provisions, became firmly established, and drew after it a train of evil consequences : injury to us, and misery to the wretched objects of our misplaced bounty. Furnished with clothing and provisions, they became less provident ; supplied with munitions of war, their propensity for mischief was quickened by the increased means of its gratification ; the passion of avarice was awakened, and habits of extortion were cherished, by the continual experience of their power to enforce the payment of tribute.

The system of making presents to the tribes, and enlisting them in our quarrels, bad as it was, was innocent in comparison with the abuses that unavoidably grew out of it. The employment of agents necessarily attended these negotiations, and the persons so engaged were exposed to constant temptations to act corruptly, while they were exempt from the

ordinary restraints, and the usual motives, which ensure the fidelity of public agents. They acted at distant points, beyond the reach of the observation of their superiors, where neither instruction nor reproof could often reach them, and where a great deal was necessarily left to their discretion. They were sent to an illiterate people, who had no channel through which to report their misconduct; and the eye of detection could not penetrate into the distant forests which formed the scene of their operations. If faithful, they had little hope of being rewarded for that which their own government could not know; and had therefore strong temptation to make their emolument out of the power and the money which they were entrusted to wield. In the back woods they could peculate or intrigue, extort or oppress, with impunity; and it is known only to Providence how often the tomahawk has been raised to gratify the bad passions of an agent, to revenge his quarrel, to feed his avarice, or to raise his importance by enabling him to become the mediator of a peace.

During the revolutionary war, it is well known, that Great Britain adopted the sanguinary policy of inciting the Indian tribes to take up the hatchet against the colonies. They now made war as the mercenary auxiliaries of a powerful nation; and while their native audacity was increased by the hope of reward, the prejudices of the Americans against them were greatly enhanced, as they who are hired to fight in the quarrel of another, always excite more aversion than the principal party who does battle in his own cause. Emissaries were now planted along the whole

frontier, the chiefs strutted in scarlet coats, and British gold and military titles were lavished among the tribes. The few restraints which prudence and decency had heretofore suggested were now forgotten; rum was dealt out without stint, and it was no longer considered necessary to inculcate the observance of humanity, temperance, or any Christian virtue. On the contrary, the savage appetite for blood was sharpened by artful devices; and there are many instances on record, in which the English emissaries presided at the torturing of prisoners, and far outstripped their red allies, in the demoniac arts of vengeance. The Indians were now literally turned loose, and continual exertions were used to awaken their jealousy and hatred against the colonies. The success of these intrigues is too well attested by the history of our struggle for independence.

Such is a very brief outline of the policy pursued towards the Indians before the organisation of our government. It will be seen that the whites have seldom treated them as independent and rational men. Sometimes they were shot down in mere sport, like brutes, sometimes made slaves, sometimes hired as bravoos, and often like spoiled children indulged to their hurt, and tempted by bad counsel and evil example into demoralising practices. In a few instances only—perhaps in none other than the two we have named—have any sustained attempts been made to conciliate them by kindness. Our other relations with them have been of a character so repulsive, as must naturally have excited in them deep-rooted prejudices against civilised nations, and especially against

the people of the United States, against whom they have been bribed into such extensive hostilities.

To these national injuries, were added wrongs of a private and personal, but not less aggravating character. Too often have our citizens perpetrated, in the deep recesses of the forest, crimes, from which, had they been suggested to the same persons when living in civilised society, surrounded by the strong restraints of law, and by the full blaze of a pure public sentiment, they would have shrunk with horror. Too often has the trader been seen, led on by the overmastering lust for money, violating every principle of honour, smothering all the noble impulses of his nature, trampling on the rites of hospitality, rending asunder the most sacred ties, and breaking down every barrier to accomplish the foul purpose of a nefarious traffic. The affecting story of Inle and Yarico was not a fiction. It has been acted over and over again in our forests with every shocking variation of ingenious cruelty. It is there no unfrequent occurrence, for the most beautiful, the most nobly gifted, the highest born maid of a powerful tribe, to give her hand in marriage, to some attractive stranger; yielding up her affections with that implicit confidence, that all-absorbing love, that heroic self-devotion, which is every where the attribute of woman. Impelled by the purest and most disinterested of human passions, she sacrifices for that nameless and houseless stranger, every thing that nature and custom had rendered most dear. For *him* she quits her parental roof, and severs every tie that binds her to country or to kindred. To please *his* taste she has thrown aside the graceful

ornaments of her tribe, and assumed the unnatural apparel of a foreign and detested people. Her raven locks are no longer braided upon her shoulders; she no longer chases the deer, or guides her light canoe over the wave; and her dark eye flashes no more with the pride of conscious beauty as the warriors of her tribe pass before her, for in their eyes she is degraded, apostatised, and become almost a traitress. She has nobly sacrificed upon the altar of love, every prejudice, every predilection, every tie that bound her to the friends and the protectors of her youth. But still she is supremely happy in the possession of that one object around whom all her affections are entwined. In the seclusion of her cottage, the cheerful performance of every domestic duty, in advancing the interests of her husband by conciliating in his favour all the influence of her kindred, and the lingering affection of her tribe, and protecting him from danger at every hazard, her days exhibit a continued scene of self-devotion. Her dream of happiness is soon and fatally dissolved. Her lover has accomplished his commercial purposes, and she is abandoned to despair, and to disgrace. Although the whole story of her affection has exhibited that loveliness of character, that purity and nobleness of mind, which in civilised society raises a superior woman above her species, and gives her an almost unlimited influence within the sphere of her attractions—yet, *she* is a savage—a poor, untaught, deluded Indian—and she is abandoned by her *civilised* husband, with the same apathy, that a worn out domestic animal is turned loose to perish upon the common.

And what becomes of this deserted woman? Think you that she has never told her sorrow, but pined away in silence, and sunk to a premature grave; that the village maids have strewed her tomb with flowers, and that the legends of the border have added her name to the long list of the victims of blighted affection? Far from it. When she loved, she had all the woman's heart; but she is the daughter of a race with whom revenge is esteemed a virtue. She has not been reared in luxury; she has a vigour of mind and body which enables her to survive the wreck of her hopes, and the withering of her affections. She lives a terrific monument of perverted human passion; and she who had practised so gracefully the virtues which are proper to her sex, has learned to curse the name she had adored, to hate the whole race of her destroyer, and to behold the torture of a white man at the stake with all the demoniac malignity of an exulting fiend—while the conflagration of houses upon the frontier, and the shrieks of women and children murdered in their beds, show that she has regained her influence, and that the young warriors, who had been the unsuccessful suitors for her hand, have united like the admirers of Helen to avenge her honour.

It is gratifying to observe in the very first operations of our confederacy a spirit of moderation towards our savage neighbours. When we came to take possession of the national heritage for which we had fought, we found it encompassed with enemies. The southern and western tribes were generally hostile. On the borders of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina, the tomahawk was busy, and the forests of

Kentucky, and Tennessee, presented a vast scene of carnage. Had our government been animated by the same demoniac spirit, which seems to have possessed other nations in their dealings with the heathen, a fair opportunity was offered at this period for its exercise. The pioneers were already sustaining themselves with credit on our western borders, and with a little encouragement from the government, they would have extirpated all the tribes who opposed their progress. Employment might have been given to the troops which congress found it necessary to disband ; and the veterans who had fought for independence, might have been rewarded with the lands of our enemies. But the great men who then swayed our councils, disdained the paltry spirit of revenge, while they were too upright to commit an act which would have been morally wrong. They knew that the Indians had been abused and misled, by the same power which had trampled on our own rights, and had adulterated our best institutions by the admixture of foreign and pernicious principles ; and they determined to forget all the aggressions of that unhappy race, to win them to friendship by kindness, and to extend to them the moral and civil blessings which had been purchased by our own emancipation. The wars which succeeded that of the revolution were neither sought by us, nor were prosecuted for one moment longer than was necessary for the defence of our frontiers. So foreign from the views of our government were all ideas of conquest, that the troops sent out under Harmar and St.-Clair, were not sufficiently numerous to maintain a stand in the wilderness ; and the army of Wayne

was victorious only through the exertion of singular skill and gallantry.

The most distinguished leader of the Indians, in the west, was the "Little Turtle," a man whose character won the respect and admiration of all who had the honour of his acquaintance. His military talents are sufficiently attested by the fact that the successes of the Indians in the years 1791 and 1792 are to be ascribed chiefly to him; he was the principal leader in their battles, and the most esteemed orator in their councils. All who knew him speak in exalted terms of the sound judgment, the enlarged views, and the philosophic mind of this chief. "Like King Philip, Tecumseh, &c., he is said to have entertained, at one time, the hope of forming an extensive coalition among the Indians, with a view to retrieve the soil, of which they had been so unjustly deprived; but meeting with difficulties which he probably saw would be invincible, he, with more foresight than either of those chiefs, soon discovered that the day for such measures had long since passed away, and the only advisable course which remained for his nation to adopt, would be to make peace with the invaders, and endeavour to improve by their superior information." (Long's 2d Expedition, vol. i. p. 86). "No wonder," said he, "that the whites drive us every year farther and farther before them, from the sea to the Mississippi. They spread like oil on a blanket; and we melt like snow before the sun. If these things do not greatly change, the red men will disappear very shortly." This chief was desirous, not only to live at peace with the Americans, but anxious that his people should become

civilised and exalted in the scale of being. His attachment to the government of the United States became very great ; and had he lived, the Indians in the northwestern section of our country would probably have been prevented from joining the British in the last war ; and a vast deal of cruelty and injury to both parties would have been prevented. He died in 1804 or 1805, and is buried on the bank of the river St. Mary, near to the site of old Fort Wayne, in Ohio. A small tree, which marks the spot of interment, is the only monument to the memory of this distinguished man.

The treaty of Greenville, made in 1795 by General Wayne, at the head of a triumphant army, with the chiefs of the tribes who had just been vanquished by him in battle, affords the strongest evidence of the pacific views of our government. Nothing is claimed in that treaty by right of conquest. The parties agree to establish perpetual peace, the Indians acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States, and not of any foreign power, they promise to sell their land to the United States only, the latter agrees to protect them, and a few regulations are adopted to govern the intercourse between the parties ; a boundary line is established, by which the Indians confirm to us large tracts of land, nearly all of which had been ceded to us by former treaties with them ; and the United States agrees to pay them goods to the value of \$20,000, and to make them a further payment of \$9,500 annually. Thus in negotiating a peace at the head quarters of our own army, after a signal victory, when we might have dictated,

and probably did dictate, the terms, we require nothing of the other parties but the performance of their previous voluntary engagements, and we purchase their friendship by an annual tribute. We advert to this treaty as one of the most important, and as forming the basis and the model of almost all the Indian treaties which have succeeded it.

From this time up to the commencement of the war with Great Britain, our government continued to pursue a conciliatory and humane policy towards the Indians. In a letter from General Dearborn, secretary of war, to General Harrison, governor of the Indiana territory, dated February 23, 1802, the following language is used:—"It is the ardent wish of the President of the United States, as well from a principle of humanity, as from duty and sound policy, that all prudent means in our power shall be unremittingly pursued for carrying into effect the benevolent views of congress relative to the Indian nations within the bounds of the United States. The provisions made by congress, under the heads of intercourse with the Indian nations, and for establishing trading houses among them, &c., have for their object not only the cultivation and establishment of harmony and friendship between the United States and the different nations of Indians, but the introduction of civilisation by encouraging and gradually introducing the arts of husbandry and domestic manufactures among them."

President Jefferson himself writes thus to the same governor:—"Our system is to live in perpetual peace with the Indians, to cultivate an affectionate attachment for them, by every thing just and liberal we can

do for them within the bounds of reason, and by giving them effectual protection against wrongs from our people." Again, "In this way our settlements will circumscribe and approach the Indians, and they will either incorporate with us, as citizens of the United States, or remove beyond the Mississippi. The former is certainly the termination of their history most happy for themselves; but in the whole course of this it is most essential to cultivate their love; as to their fear, we presume that our strength and their weakness is now so visible that they must see we have only to shut our hand to crush them, and all our liberality to them proceeds from motives of mere humanity only."

Under date of December 22, 1808, President Jefferson writes thus; "In a letter to you of Feb. 27, 1802, I mentioned that I had heard there was still one Peoria man living, and that a compensation making him easy for life should be given him, and his conveyance of the country by a regular deed obtained. If there be such a man living, I think this should still be done." Here was an instance, in which, a tribe being supposed to be extinct, the government had taken possession of the country which had been owned by them; but the president afterwards hearing that one individual of that nation was in existence, proposed to pay him for the soil, and get a conveyance from him. We doubt whether in the annals of any other nation than our own, such an act of scrupulous justice can be shown.

Our limits will not permit us to enter into a minute detail of our relations with the tribes during this period. It is enough for our purpose, to speak of it

in general terms. It was a gloomy and turbulent period to the dweller upon the frontier. Kind and forbearing as was our government, it was impossible to soothe a spirit of revenge, enkindled in the savage heart by a long series of war and encroachments. Our citizens, too, were imprudent and unjust in their conduct towards them. The Indians subsist entirely by hunting, and the game in their forests is as valuable to them as our herds to us. The United States had passed laws forbidding our people from trespassing upon the Indian hunting grounds. Yet our hunters would often pass over into the Indian country, and destroy vast quantities of game. In 1801, Governor Harrison, in a communication to the government, describes the Indians as entertaining the most friendly dispositions towards us, but as being provoked and discontented on account of injuries received from such individuals as we have alluded to. The practice of hunting on their lands had grown into a monstrous abuse; thousands of wild animals, from which they derived their sole subsistence, were annually destroyed by the whites. Many parts of the country which had abounded with game at the conclusion of the general peace in 1795, were now totally destitute. The settlers on the Ohio were in the habit of passing into the Indian territory every autumn to kill bear, deer, and buffaloes *merely for the skins*, by means of which these animals, particularly the latter, were in some places become almost extinct. (*Dawson's Life of Harrison.*)

The agents of the British government continued to exercise all the incendiary arts of their despicable

diplomacy, in exciting the Indians into hostility. It is probable that until the conclusion of the last war, in 1815, the mother country never entirely abandoned the hope of reducing her lost colonies to their former state of subjection. Alarmed at the rapidity with which our settlements were spreading to the west, they attempted to oppose barriers to our advance in that direction, by exciting the savage to war—equally alarmed at our efforts to civilise the tribes, and fearful that the wandering hordes of the west might be induced to sit down under the protection of our republican institutions, and thus bring an immense accession to our strength, they insidiously endeavoured to countervail all our benevolent exertions of that description. We could hardly dare, unless we had the proof at hand, to expose to the Christian world the extent, the wickedness, the unhappy tendency of these intrigues. The United States were engaged in an experiment which was approved by every virtuous man, and ought to have been supported by every enlightened nation. She was earnestly endeavouring to reclaim the savage—to induce the tribes to abandon their cruelties, their superstitions, their comfortless and perilous wanderings, and to sit down in the enjoyment of law, religion, peace, industry, and the arts. She wished to send the cross of the Redeemer, the blessings of civil liberty, and the light of science, abroad throughout the whole of this vast continent; and to establish peace and good will in those boundless forests which had heretofore been the gloomy abodes of ferocious ignorance, vindictive passion, and sanguinary conflict. Had she been successful in this benefi-

cent design, she would have achieved a revolution as glorious as that which gave us independence. The British cabinet saw the possibility of such a result, and trembled at the consequences; they could not consent that the United States should either reap the honour of so proud a triumph, or gain an accession of strength which would for ever establish her independence. Their emissaries, therefore, were multiplied, and stimulated to renewed activity; and while the agents of our government, the Christian missionaries, and hundreds of benevolent individuals, laboured assiduously to enlighten the savage mind, and allure it to peace, and virtue, and industry, the unhallowed ambassadors of corruption toiled as industriously to perpetuate the darkness of heathenism, the gloom of ignorance, and the atrocities of war. They represented our government as having interests inimical to those of the red men; and endeavoured to fasten upon us, as a people, those enormities which had been practised under the sanction of their own government, and of which we had been the sufferers in common with the aborigines. They characterised our missionaries as political agents; and appealed successfully to the ambition of the chiefs, and the prejudices and national pride of the tribes, by insinuating that our efforts to extend to them our customs, faith, arts, and language, were intended to destroy their integrity and independence, to efface their traditions, and blot out their names from the list of nations. Stronger and more direct arguments than even these were resorted to: while we inculcated the virtue of temperance, and showed the Indian that intemperance was rapidly

destroying his name and kindred, the British agent secretly distributed brandy with a lavish hand;—while we invited the warrior to peace, *he* gave him arms and ammunition, and incited him to war and plunder;—while we offered the tribes our gospel, and our arts, and furnished them with the implements of industry, he lavished among their tribes military titles, red coats, epaulets, and paltry trinkets, thus administering aliment to every savage propensity and prejudice, and neutralising the effect of every wise precept and virtuous example. Such miscreants as M'Ree and Girty, while in the daily perpetration of the most odious crimes, received from their government the honours and rewards which are only due to virtuous and patriotic services. They, and others who could be named, were as familiarly known in the western country, and their acts were as notorious as those of Jefferson or Canning in the civilised world. In proof of this we cite the following passage from a *talk* delivered by President Jefferson to the Miamies, Potawatamies, Delawares, and Chippewas. “Some of you are old enough to remember, and the younger have heard from their fathers, that this country was formerly governed by the English. While they governed it, there were constant wars between the white and red people. To such a height was the hatred of both parties carried, that they thought it was no crime to kill one another in cold blood whenever they had an opportunity. This spirit led many of the Indians to take side against us in the war; and at the close of it the English made peace for themselves, and left the Indians to get out of it as well as

they could. It was not till twelve years after that we were able, by the treaty of Greenville, to close our wars with our red neighbours. From that moment, my children, the policy of this country towards you has been entirely changed. General Washington, our first president, began a line of just and friendly conduct towards you. Mr. Adams, the second, continued it; and from the moment I came into the administration, I have looked upon you with the same good will as my own fellow citizens, have considered your interests as our interests, and peace and friendship as a blessing to us all. Seeing with sincere regret, that your people were wasting away, believing that this proceeded from your frequent wars, the destructive use of spirituous liquors, and the scanty supplies of food, I have inculcated peace with all your neighbours, have endeavoured to prevent the introduction of spirituous liquors, and have pressed it upon you to rely for food on the culture of the earth more than on hunting. On the contrary, my children, the English persuade you to hunt. They supply you with spirituous liquors, and are now endeavouring to engage you to join them in a war against us, should a war take place. You possess reason, my children, as we do, and you will judge for yourselves which of us advise you as friends. The course they advise has worn you down to your present numbers; but temperance, peace, and agriculture, will raise you up to what your forefathers were, will prepare you to possess property, to wish to live under regular laws, to join us in our government, to mix with us in society, and,

your blood and ours, united, will spread again over the great island."

Contrast those sentiments, so honourable to our country and to humanity, with the following talk from the British superintendent of Indian affairs, delivered to the Pottawatamie chiefs, at the river St. Josephs, of Lake Michigan, in November, 1804 :—" My children, it is true that the Americans do not wish you to drink any spirituous liquors, therefore they have told their traders that they should not carry any liquor into your country—but, my children, they have *no right* to say that one of your father's traders among you should carry no liquor among his children."

" My children, your father, King George, loves his red children, and wishes his red children to be supplied *with every thing they want* ; he is not like the Americans, who are continually blinding your eyes, and stopping your ears with good words, that taste as sweet as sugar, and getting all your lands from you."

" My children, I am told that Wells has told you, that it was your interest to suffer no liquor to come into your country ; you all know he is a bad man," &c.

On another occasion he said, " My children, there is now a powerful enemy of yours to the east, now on his feet, and looks mad at you, therefore you must be on your guard ; keep your weapons of war in your hands, and have a look out for him."

Thus while our government endeavoured to throw the veil of oblivion over past irritations, and to establish with its red neighbours those friendly relations by which the best interests of both parties would

have been promoted, the design was frustrated by the imprudence of a few of our citizens, and the continual intrigues of a government, which at that time arrogated to herself the title of the bulwark of religion, and claimed pre-eminence in all the arts and virtues of civilisation. The consequence was, that our frontiers continued to be desolated by petty wars of the most distressing character—wars, the miseries of which fell solely upon individuals, who were robbed, and tortured, and murdered, by those who professed to be the allies, and were in fact the dependencies, of their own government. Towards the year 1812, the Indians became more and more audacious. The approach of war between this country and Great Britain, the increased bribes and redoubled intrigues of that nation, and the prospect of gaining in her a powerful ally, gave new fuel to their hatred, and new vigour to their courage. At this period the celebrated Tecumseh appeared upon the scene. He was called the Napoleon of the west; and so far as that title was deserved by splendid genius, unwavering courage, untiring perseverance, boldness of conception, and promptitude of action, it was fairly bestowed upon this accomplished savage. He rose from obscurity to the command of a tribe to which he was alien by birth. He was by turns the orator, the warrior, and the politician; and in each of these capacities towered above all with whom he came in contact. As is often the case with great minds, one master passion filled his heart, prompted all his designs, and gave to his life its character. This was hatred to the whites; and like Hannibal, he had sworn that it should be perpetual.

He entertained the same vast project of uniting the scattered tribes of the west into one great confederacy, which had been acted on by King Philip and Little Turtle. He wished to extinguish all distinctions of tribe and language, to bury all feuds, and to combine the power and the prejudices of all, in defence of the rights and possessions of the whole, as the aboriginal occupants of the country. The British officers found in him an able and apt coadjutor, and by their joint machinations the whole western frontier was thrown into commotion. It was to the followers of this chief, and in deference to his counsel, that the American prisoners taken at the river Raisin, were delivered up by the British commander to be slaughtered in cold blood; and it was with Tecumseh himself, that General Proctor made the disgraceful compact, by which it was agreed that General Harrison and all who had fought with him at Tippecanoe, should, if taken, be delivered up to the Indians to be burned. (*M' Afee's History of the War.*) He was the terror and scourge of his foes, the uncompromising opposer of all attempts at civilising the Indians, the brave, implacable, untiring enemy of our people. His death dispersed the tribes who were leagued against us in the northwest, and gave a fatal blow to the hopes of the British crown in that quarter.

We have noticed these events for the purpose of showing the obstacles which have embarrassed our government in all their schemes for extending the mild and moralising influence of our Christian and republican principles throughout the western forests.

With the conclusion of the war, in 1815, ended our hostilities with the Indians. The brilliant exploits of our navy, and the signal victories gained by our armies at New Orleans, at the river Thames, on the Niagara, and at Plattsburgh, convinced the British of the futility of all their hopes of conquest on this continent, and spread an universal panic among the tribes. The eyes of the latter were opened to our power, as they had been to our forbearance. They saw that they had nothing to hope from our weakness, or our fears, and much to gain from our friendship. They must now submit, or by contending single-handed against the victorious troops who had defeated their martial allies, draw down inevitable destruction upon their own heads. At this fortunate juncture our cabinet again held out the olive branch. The enlightened Madison, ever pacific in his public character, as he was amiable and philanthropic in private life, spared no pains in healing the unhappy wounds which had been inflicted upon the mutual peace; and his successors, by pursuing the same policy, have given permanence to a system of amicable relations between us and our misguided neighbours.

Our intercourse with the Indian tribes has now assumed a new character. Since the last war with Great Britain, no tribe has ventured upon a formal declaration of hostility. Predatory incursions by war parties have ceased. Robbery and murder occur as seldom upon the frontier as elsewhere. The massacre of women and children is no longer perpetrated, nor feared; and our settlers who advance into the wilder-

ness beyond the reach of civil protection, have abandoned the practice of erecting stockades for their defence. In two or three instances the quiet of the frontier has been disturbed, and a momentary panic spread throughout the settlements: but these aggressions have always been traced to unruly individuals, who have been surrendered for punishment, while their acts have been promptly disowned by the tribes.

CHAPTER VI.

Further particulars of the system of intercourse of our government with the Indians—Mischievous influence of that system.

We come now to consider briefly the question, what is the precise character of our relations with the Indians? We have to show, in support of the positions assumed in the commencement of this article, that our government, with the very best intentions towards the aborigines, has not only failed to accomplish its benevolent purposes in regard to them, but has in fact done much positive wrong to them and to ourselves. To ascertain the exact position of the parties in respect to each other, we shall call the attention of the reader to a few of the treaties and laws which regulate the subject matter, confining ourselves chiefly to those which have been made subsequently to the events that we have narrated. Our present system of Indian relations, although commenced under the administration of General Washington, has been chiefly built up since the last war. The treaties have been so numerous, that it is impossible, on an occasion like this, to enter into their details, or to do more than to refer in a compendious manner to their leading features. We shall adopt this plan as sufficient for our purpose. The following propositions, then, will be found to contain the leading principles of this anomalous diplomacy, and to have obtained in our treaties with nearly all those tribes.

1. The United States have almost invariably given presents, in money, arms, clothing, farming implements, and trinkets, upon the negotiation of a treaty; and in treaties for the purchase of territory, we pay an equivalent for the lands, in money or merchandise, or both, which payment is generally made in the shape of annuities, either limited or perpetual.

2. When a tribe cedes the territory on which they reside, other territory is specified, for their future occupancy, and the United States guarantee to them the title and peaceable occupancy thereof.

3. The Indian tribes acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of our government, and of no other power whatsoever.

4. They engage not to make war with each other, or with any foreign nation, without the consent of the United States.

5. They agree to sell their lands only to the United States.

6. White men found hunting on the Indian lands, may be apprehended by them, and delivered up to the nearest agent of the United States.

7. White men are not to trade with the Indians, nor reside in their country, without license from our authorities.

8. An Indian who commits murder upon a white man, is to be delivered up to be tried by our laws; stolen property is to be returned, or the tribe to be accountable for its value.

9. The United States *claims the right* of navigation, on all navigable rivers which pass through an Indian territory.

10. The tribes agree that they will at all times allow to traders, and other persons traveling through their country, under the authority of the United States, a free and safe passage for themselves and their property; and that for such passage, they shall at no time, and on no account whatever be subject to any toll or exaction.

11. Should any tribe of Indians or other power, meditate a war against the United States, or threaten any hostile act, and the same shall come to the knowledge of a tribe in amity with the United States, the latter shall give notice thereof to the nearest governor, or officer commanding the troops of the United States.

12. No tribe in amity with the United States shall supply arms or ammunition, or any warlike implement, aid, or munition, to a tribe not in amity with us.

The following special articles have been assented to by particular tribes, and have been inserted in treaties with some other tribes, so as to prevail to a considerable extent.

“The United States demand an acknowledgement of the right to establish military posts, and trading houses, and to open roads within the territory guaranteed to the Creek nation in the second article, and the right to the navigation of all its waters.”—*Treaty of August 9, 1814.*

“The Shawnee nation do acknowledge the United States to be sole and absolute sovereigns of all the territory ceded to them by a treaty of peace made between them and the king of Great Britain, on the 14th January, 1786.”—*Treaty of 31st January, 1786.*

“It is agreed on the part of the Cherokees, that the

United States shall have the sole and absolute right to regulate their trade."—*Treaty of 2d July, 1791.*

"Fifty-four tracts of one mile square each, of the land ceded by this treaty, shall be laid off under the direction of the President of the United States, and sold, for the purpose of raising a fund to be applied for the support of schools, for the education of the *Osage* children."—*Treaty of 2d June, 1825.*

"The United States agree to furnish at Clarke, for the use of the *Osage* nations, a blacksmith, and tools to mend their arms, and utensils of husbandry, and engage to build them a horse mill, or water mill; also to furnish them with ploughs, &c."—*Ibid.*

"The United States, immediately after the ratification of this convention, shall cause to be furnished to the *Kansas* nation, 300 head of cattle, 300 hogs, 500 domestic fowls, three yoke of oxen, and two carts, with such implements of husbandry as the superintendent of Indian affairs may think necessary; and shall employ such persons to aid and instruct them in agriculture, as the President of the United States may deem expedient; and shall provide and support a blacksmith for them."—*Treaty of 3d June, 1825.*

"Thirty-six sections of good land on Big Blue river, shall be laid out under the direction of the President of the United States, and sold, for the purpose of raising a fund to be applied under the direction of the president, to the education of the *Kansas* children within their nation."—*Ibid.*

"The *Tetons*, *Yanctons* and *Yanctonies*, and bands of the *Sioux*, admit the right of the United States to regulate their trade."—*Treaty of 2d June, 1825.*

We now turn to the statute books, for the purpose of showing the spirit of our legislation in regard to the Indian tribes; and in the first place the *intention* of those laws as expressed on the face of them is not unworthy of notice. We find throughout the whole of our acts of congress on this subject, such expressions as the following:—"In order to *promote civilisation* among the friendly Indians, and to secure the *continuance of their friendship*," &c. "For the purpose of providing against *the further decline and final extinction* of the Indian tribes, adjoining the frontier settlements of the United States, and for introducing among them *the habits and arts of civilisation*," &c. The 3d article of an ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States, northwest of the river Ohio, runs as follows:—"Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall for ever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians: their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed unless in just and lawful wars authorised by congress; but *laws, founded in justice and humanity*, shall from time to time be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them."

We shall, when we come to enquire what have been the *results* of our intercourse with the Indians, and whether those results have realised the wishes of the American people, and the intentions of the govern-

ment, refer to the above extracts as expressing those wishes and intentions.

We will not detail at large the statutory provisions to which we intend to refer, but will content ourselves with such a synopsis as will answer our purpose. Our Indian affairs are conducted by several superintendents, and a number of agents and sub-agents, who are required to reside within their respective agencies, and through whom the government conducts all its negotiations with the tribes, except when special trusts are committed to military officers, or to commissioners appointed for the occasion. We regulate the trade with them by statute, rigorously prohibiting all ingress into their country, by our citizens, or by foreigners, and all traffic, except by special license from our authorities. An Indian who kills a white man, or a white man who slays an Indian, are alike tried by our laws, and in our courts, even though the offence was committed in the Indian territory. Larceny, robbery, trespass, or other crime, committed by white men against Indians, in the country of the latter, is punishable in our courts, and where the offender is unable to make restitution, the just value of the property taken or destroyed is paid by our government; if a similar aggression is committed by an Indian against a white man, the tribe is held responsible. The president is authorised to furnish to the tribes, schoolmasters, artisans, teachers of husbandry and the mechanic arts, tools, implements of agriculture, domestic animals; and generally to introduce the habits and arts of social life among them.

Although we have omitted a great many provisions

similar to those which we have quoted, we believe that we have not passed over any thing which is necessary to a fair exposition of the principles of our negotiations with, and legislation over, the Indian tribes. It will be seen that we have never avowed an intention to extirpate this unhappy race, to strip them of their property, or to deprive them of, what in our declaration of independence we have emphatically termed, *indefeasible rights*. On the contrary, our declared purpose, repeatedly and solemnly avowed, has been to secure their friendship—to civilise them—to give them the habits and arts of social life—to elevate their character, and increase their happiness.

If it be asked, to what extent these objects have been attained, the answer must be appalling to every friend of humanity. It is so seldom that the energies of a powerful government have been steadily directed to the accomplishment of a benevolent design, that we cannot, without deep regret, behold the exertion of such rare beneficence defeated of its purpose. Yet it is most certainly true, that, notwithstanding all our professions, and our great expenditure of money and labour, the Indians, so far from advancing one step in civilisation and happiness, so far from improving in their condition, or rising in the scale of moral being, are every day sinking lower in misery and barbarism. The virtues which they cherished in their aboriginal state have been blunted by their intercourse with the whites, and they have acquired vices which were unknown to their simple progenitors. We take no account here of the Creeks, the Cherokees, and Choctaws, a portion of whom present an exception to

the great body of the Indians, and whose case we shall refer to hereafter, as sustaining our doctrines. We speak now of the wandering tribes—of the Indians at large, who continue to reject the arts and habits of social life, who fear and despise the white man, and tenaciously adhere to all the ferocious customs, and miserable expedients of savage life. If we have failed to soften their rude natures, to enlighten their understandings, or to imbue their minds with any of our principles of moral action, equally have we failed to secure their friendship. We have tamed them into submission by displays of our power, or bought them into subservience with our money, but we have not gained their love or their confidence.

Nor is this all. Our system is not only inefficient, but it is positively mischievous. Its direct tendency is to retard the civilisation of the Indian. We have stripped their nations of freedom, sovereignty, and independence. We claim the right to regulate their trade, to navigate their rivers, to have ingress into their country; we forbid all intercourse with them, except by special license from our authorities; we try them in our courts for offences committed in their country, and we do not acknowledge the existence of any tribunal among them, having authority to inflict a penalty on one of our citizens. They are subjected to the restraints without enjoying the privileges, the protection, or the moral influence, of our laws. Theirs is therefore a state of subjection—of mere vassalage—precisely that state which has always been found to destroy the energies, and degrade the character of a people.

But as if by a refinement of cruelty, similar to that which decks a victim in costly robes, and surrounds him with pleasing objects of sense, at the moment of execution, we leave them in the nominal possession of independence, and in the practice of all their long cherished and idolised customs, prejudices and superstitions. They are kept separate from us, and their own national pride naturally co-operates with our injudicious policy, to keep them for ever a distinct, an alien, and a hostile people. They gain nothing by the example of our industry, the precepts of our religion, the influence of our laws, our arts, our institutions, for they see or feel nothing of the salutary operation of all these, and only know them in their terrors or their restraints. They are a subjected people, governed by laws in the making of which they have no voice, and enjoying none of the privileges of their lords paramount. By giving them presents and annuities we support them in idleness, and cherish their wandering and unsettled habits. We bribe them into discontent, by teaching them that every public convention held for the settlement of misunderstandings, is to bring them valuable tributes; while the same cause trains them to duplicity, and induces them to exercise all their ingenuity in seeking out causes of offence, and in compounding their grievances to the best advantage.

If all this is wrong in principle, it is still worse in practice. The Indian department has already become one of the most expensive branches of our government. Our foreign relations are scarcely more costly than our negotiations with the tribes. If the vast sums which are annually laid out in this manner, were

productive of any permanent good to the Indians, no patriot or Christian would regret the expenditure. But when we see our treasure squandered with a lavish hand, not only without any good effect, but with great positive injury, to the miserable race whom we have reduced to the state of dependence upon our bounty, it is time to pause. When we examine further, and see how large a portion of these vast sums are intercepted before they reach the hand of the red man—how much is expended in sustaining military posts, paying agents, transporting merchandise, holding treaties, and keeping in operation in various ways a vast, complicated, and useless machinery—when we reflect how much is unavoidably lost, and squandered, and misapplied, the question assumes a fearful importance.

The British government, when attempting to subdue the ferocious spirit of the Scotch highlanders, and to allure them to the arts of peace, prohibited them from wearing the national dress, and from carrying arms, and used its influence to destroy the power of the chieftains, and to eradicate the use of the Gaelic language; because all these things tended to foster the pride of descent, to cherish ancient recollections, and to keep the clans separate from the rest of the nation, and from each other.

Our government has pursued a policy directly opposite. We are continually administering nourishment to the prejudices of the Indians, and keeping alive the distinctions that separate them from us. They are constantly reminded of their nominal independence by the embassies which are sent to them, and by the

ridiculous mock pageantry which is exhibited on such occasions ; when our commissioners, instead of exerting the moral influence of example, comply with all their customs, imitate the style of their eloquence, and even flatter them for the possession of the very propensities which distinguish them as savages. So far from endeavouring to abolish the distinction of dress, we furnish them annually with immense quantities of trinkets, cloths, and blankets, made expressly for their use, and differing essentially from any thing that is worn, or even sold, in our country. Wagon loads of the most childish trinkets, and the most ridiculous toys, are annually sent as presents from this great and benevolent nation, to its red allies, as assurances of the very profound respect, and tender affection, with which they are regarded by the American people. Immense sums of money are also given them in annuities—money which to the savage is totally valueless, and which is immediately transferred to the trader in exchange for whiskey, tobacco, gunpowder, looking glasses, tin bracelets, and ornaments for the nose.

The idea of elevating the character of the Indian, and softening down his asperities, by pampering his indolence, and administering to his vanity, is supremely ridiculous. The march of mind will never penetrate into our forests by the beat of the drum, nor will civilisation be transmitted in bales of scarlet cloth and glass beads. This, however, is the natural effect of treating with the Indians in their own country, and carrying our trade to their doors, where we are in some measure obliged to comply with their customs, and all our dealings with them must be carried on by

men who are not amenable to our laws, nor surrounded by the salutary restraints of public sentiment. If, on the contrary, the Indians were obliged to resort to our towns to supply their wants, and to trade with regular dealers; and if all their negotiations with our government were to be conducted within the boundaries of our organised governments, they would not only be better treated, but would be brought into contact with the most intelligent and benevolent of our citizens, and imbibe more correct notions of us and of our institutions.

If any reflecting man is asked, what it is that constitutes the difference between the American people, and the nations of Europe, and why we are enjoying peace and prosperity, and advancing with such rapid strides to greatness, he refers at once to the character of our government and people. The enterprise, industry, temperance, frugality, republican simplicity, and correct moral principles of the people, and the equality of rights secured to them in their social compact, are the elements of their respectability, security, and greatness. Do we extend these rights or teach these virtues to the Indian? In the pageantry of the councils which are held with their chiefs, do we display that simplicity which marks our intercourse with each other? Do we inculcate frugality by presenting them with loads of gaudy finery? Do we teach self-dependence, industry, and thrift, by supplying their necessities and encouraging their idle habits? Do we, by any systematic exertion, present to them the example of our virtues, and offer them inducements to cultivate peace, industry, and the arts?

If it is asked what remedy can be applied to this

enormous and growing evil, we reply that the enquiry is one, to our minds, of easy solution. If the Indians are our dependents, we should govern them as dependents; if they are our equals, admit them to an equality of rights; if they are properly subject to the operation of our laws, we should break down the barrier which separates them from us, bring them at once into the bosom of the republic, and extend to them the benefits, immunities, and privileges, which we enjoy ourselves. If it be objected that they are independent nations, and that we cannot in good faith destroy their national integrity, it will be necessary before we advance any farther in our argument, to examine whether the fact be so, that these tribes are independent. With regard to as many of the Indian nations as have by solemn treaty placed themselves under our protection, given us the right to regulate their trade, navigate their rivers, and punish their people in our courts, and agreed to admit no white man of any nation into their country without our license, there seems to be but little doubt. Sovereign nations they are not, for they have parted with all the highest attributes of sovereignty. If we refer to our own legislation, it will be seen that this is not confined to those tribes which have by treaty submitted themselves to our jurisdiction. The general phrases "Indian" and "Indian territory" extend the operation of those laws, to all the country lying west of our settlements, and to all the tribes and individuals, within that region. With what propriety can we now pause to enquire into our right of sovereignty over those tribes, when we have already exercised that sovereignty, to the full extent that our own safety or interest required? If to pro-

tect or aggrandise ourselves we have assumed jurisdiction, without a qualm of conscience, shall we become squeamish, when called upon to exercise the same power for the advantage of the Indian? The question is not now to be decided whether we shall extinguish the independence of the Indians, because that point has long since been settled, and we have by purchase or by conquest, acquired full sovereignty. Passing over the treaties to which we have referred, and which speak for themselves, it may be necessary to prove those assertions of power made by us in various ways. To avoid repetition we shall pass over the statutes above referred to, and to which the intelligent reader can recur, and shall proceed to notice some other assumptions of sovereignty on our part.

In the year 1783 Virginia ceded to the United States all right, title, and claim, as well of soil, as jurisdiction, to that region which was afterwards called the Northwestern Territory, the whole of which was owned and occupied by the Indians, except a few spots inhabited by the French. The condition of this cession, was that the territory so ceded should "be laid out and formed into states," "and that the states so formed shall be distinct republican states, and admitted members of the Federal Union, &c." To this treaty the Indian tribes were not parties, and of course seem not to have been recognised as having any political or civil rights. Virginia by ceding, and the United States by accepting, both "soil and jurisdiction," and both parties by providing for the erection of republican states in this country, deny all right of sovereignty in the aborigines as effectually as if they had done so by express words.

Afterwards, and before any of this country was purchased from the Indians, an ordinance was passed for its government; and although it is provided in this act that the Indians shall be protected in their "property, rights, and liberty," this provision is not broader than that made in favour of the French inhabitants in the deed of cession, and it only extends to *the people* of that territory the same "indefeasible" rights which appertain to every citizen of the United States. The terms used apply to the Indians in their individual, not in their national capacity, and the very passing of such a law is an assumption of sovereignty, which excludes the idea of any power existing in the Indians to protect their own rights, property, and liberty.

Mr. Jefferson, in a letter addressed to the governor of Indiana, dated February 27, 1803, uses the following language: "The Cahokias being extinct, we are entitled to their country by our *paramount* sovereignty. The Peorias, we understand, have all been driven from their country, and we might claim it *in the same way*."

Without multiplying authorities on the subject, we have quoted enough to show, that we claim over their country a "paramount sovereignty," and have extended over *them* the coercive and the protective power of our laws. In the language of Judge Marshall, we hold them under "pupilage." We are pursuing the policy of an unwise parent, who supports his son in idleness, and does not subject him to discipline—who supplies his wants, pampers his extravagance, and rears him in vicious indolence, without teaching him the art of gaining his own livelihood, or the moral principles necessary to regulate his conduct.

CHAPTER VII.

Political rights of the Indian tribes—Their political condition—
Our duty towards them—Suggestions in reference to their
civilisation.

The country beyond the Mississippi is of vast importance to the American people. It forms at present the western boundary of our population; and is inhabited by hordes of savages, who, from having been our equals, our allies, our enemies, the scourge and terror of our borders, are sinking fast into a state of imbecile dependency, which must soon render them the mere objects of our compassion. Already their rights have become so questionable, as to divide the opinions of our best and wisest men. Not that any are so bold as to deny they have *any* rights. Far be it from us, at least, to hint that such a thought is seriously entertained. Their claims upon us are high and sacred; but unfortunately for them, and us, they are undefined, and almost undefinable. How shall we ascertain the political rights of those, who have never acknowledged any international law—whose station is not fixed by the code of empires—who have no place in the family of nations? How estimate the civil condition of those whose government is, if we may so express it, a systematic anarchy, in which no maxim, either of religion, morality, or law, is admitted to be

fundamental, no right is sacred from the hand of violence, no personal protection ensured, but to strength and valour? What are the obligations of religion, justice, or benevolence, towards those who acknowledge neither the one nor the other, in the sense that we understand these terms? How shall we deal with a people, between whom and ourselves, there is no community of language, thought, or custom—no reciprocity of obligations—no common standard, by which to estimate our relative interests, claims, and duties? These are questions of such difficult solution, that perhaps they will at last be decided, not by reason, but by power—as the gordian knot was severed by the sword of the conqueror.

We apprehend, however, that the agitation of some of these points would be rather curious than useful. It can be of little benefit to the Indian, at this day, to enquire what have been the rights that he has forfeited by his own misconduct, lost by misconception, or surrendered to the hand of violence. We cannot now place him in the condition in which our ancestors found him, but must deal with him according to the circumstances by which he is surrounded. And the question now is, what, in the present condition of the Indian, is our duty to him, and to ourselves.

In the first place, we cannot believe that the mere fact, that a wandering horde of savages are in the habit of traversing a particular tract of the country in pursuit of game, gives to them the ownership and jurisdiction of the soil, as sovereign nations. In order to sustain such a claim, it should be shown that they have, at least, definite boundaries, permanent institu-

tions, and the power to protect themselves, and enforce their laws. These are some of the attributes of nations. To make a *nation*, there must be a *government*—a bond of union by which the individual character shall, for civil and social purposes, be merged in that of the body politic ; and there must be a power *somewhere*, to make and to enforce laws. Other nations must be satisfied that there is a *permanent authority* which has the right to represent, and the power to bind, such a community, by treaty. They must be satisfied, that there is a legal, or a moral power, sufficiently strong to enforce the obligations of justice, and that there is some judicial mode of investigating facts, determining questions of right, and settling principles. In short, there must be some *settled principles*, of political and moral action, observed alike by the people and their rulers, which shall govern their intercourse with foreigners, and render it safe and certain. A body of men, merely associated together, for present security and convenience, is by no means a nation. Between such a body, and a great empire in the full exercise of all the attributes of sovereign power, there may be several grades of the social compact. States may be dependent or independent ; the people may govern themselves, or they may acknowledge a master. But between a *government* and *no government* there is but one line ; there is a clear distinction between a *state*, and a mere collection of individuals ; the latter, whatever may be their separate personal rights, cannot have collectively any political existence, and any nation in whose limits, or upon whose borders, they may happen to be, has a

clear right to extend its authority over them, having regard always to the rights of other nations.

It is very clear, that the North American Indians have at this time no regularly organised governments. They have no foreign intercourse, no trade, no revenue, nor any laws for the protection of life, liberty, or property. Even the subdivision of tribes is doubtful and fluctuating. They are separated into smaller, or united into larger bodies, as their own convenience, or the caprice of a chief may dictate. An intelligent and warlike chief may amalgamate many of these clans together, or a war may force them to unite; but when the cause which binds them together ceases, or when rival warriors contend for the ascendancy, they separate, or form other combinations. In the narration of Long's second expedition, we find that the Dacotas are divided into *fifteen* tribes, and the writer observes, "almost every traveller, who has visited the Dacotas, has given a different enumeration of their divisions; some reckoning but *seven*, while others admit as many as *twenty-one* tribes." Again, "These form *two* great divisions, which have been distinguished by traders into the names, Gens du Lac, and Gens du Large"—those who live by the lake, and those who roam the prairies. In this instance, it would be difficult to ascertain what individuals or tribes could be classed together as a nation, and the claim of any portion, to be ranked as a body politic, would, in legal phrase, be *bad, for uncertainty*.

But again, there is a general movement throughout the civilised world in favour of liberal thought, free principles, and the dissemination of knowledge. Every

government in Europe is now trembling and many of them convulsed with actual revolution, in consequence of the universal spread of intelligence among the people. The contest between ignorance and light, and between despotism and liberty, is going forward throughout christendom. Every where the spirit of improvement is abroad; and the *same spirit* pervades all ranks, and every department of human thought and industry. In religion, politics, literature, and the mechanic arts, men have resolved to think for themselves. They will neither be machines to do the work that steam-engines can do for them; nor will they be the slaves of idle, nor the instruments of artful rulers, in church or state. Ours is moreover an economical age, when nothing is valued that is not useful and practical, and when no value is placed upon mere names. Under these circumstances, we cannot believe that a people, such as we are, can deliberately propose to consign a vast region to eternal sterility, and to support a multitude of human beings in idleness, ignorance, intemperance and bloodshed. We are not so wedded to *names* as to believe that we are obliged to keep up a state of things which we know to be wrong and impolitic, merely because it exists, and has existed; nor can we adopt the maxims of *legitimacy* so far as to feel ourselves bound to respect that which has nothing to recommend it but its long continuance, and nothing to support it but the prejudices of ignorant, and the selfishness of interested, individuals.

To come at once to the point, we believe that it is the duty of our government, to take the Indians directly under its own control as subjects. Divided as they

are into hostile tribes, torn by dissensions and feuds, hunted down by each other, and pillaged by unprincipled traders; too ignorant to form, and too weak to support local governments; without commerce, agriculture, arts, education, or any of the means of social comfort, or intellectual improvement, it is mere folly to consider them as separate independent governments. With far more reason might Algiers have been regarded as a sovereign state; for it had a government, a capital, a commerce, a marine, and a definite territory. Yet no one has contended that it was unjust or cruel in the French, to blot out a despotism, that was an abomination in the eyes of civilised men, and to establish forcibly a regular government in the room of barbarism. We have less to do, because the Indians are already under our care, have acknowledged our authority, and are dependent on us for protection; and their proximity to our borders obliges us, in self-defence, to govern them. The highest judicial tribunal of our country has decided that they are under our "pupilage," the executive, and legislative powers of our government have long ago made the same decision, by the exertion of authority over them, and public sentiment in sanctioning these acts, has ratified the general proposition, that they are not independent nations. If, then, they are *in fact*, not independent, why persevere in the mockery of calling them so? Would there be any immorality in abolishing a mere fiction, and doing openly, that which we have been practising all along, covertly? If we do in fact govern the Indians, why not lay bare the arm of justice, assert our authority, exert it to its full, legitimate extent, and

force them to acknowledge and obey it? If it is for the good of the Indian that all this should be done, we apprehend that there is no maxim of justice or morality, which would forbid it.

There is no question, that any other government than ours, similarly situated, would long since have openly taken the Indian tribes under its authority. An amiable, an honourable, a magnanimous sentiment of forbearance, an unwillingness to do that which might bear the slightest semblance of injustice, has dictated the course that we have pursued. It is now ascertained to have been a mistaken policy, but we are far from branding it with the name of weakness. The experiment was worth trying. The sacred relation in which we stood in regard to the rest of the world, and the principles which we had assumed as the basis of our government, made it proper for us to act with great caution on a question supposed to involve the right of self-government in another people. But the time for that delicacy has passed away. As regards the Indians we have crossed the Rubicon; and to the world, we have given such an exposition of our principles, that our conduct in this matter will not now be misunderstood. The acts and the professions of our government have shown throughout, that our intentions towards the Indians were humane and just, and if the system under which that benevolence has been dispensed, has proved to be not only inefficient, but absolutely pernicious to us and to them, it is our privilege, and our duty to change it.

At present they have no government, and whether they ever had any is doubtful. John Tanner, who

resided among the Ojibeway Indians for thirty years, and who hunted and traveled extensively among the tribes who inhabit the shores of the upper lakes, does not, in his whole narrative, refer to any thing like a government. He does not mention the name of a ruling chief, nor does he detail a single instance of the exertion of sovereign authority. It is very clear that there is no government, among all those tribes. There are divisions into tribes it is true, but these are large families, rather than nations, for the distinctions are those of blood, not of country or government. Tanner himself never acknowledged any superior, nor considered himself as belonging to any particular body, though he called himself an Ojibeway. Among his tribe were many leaders. A man who became distinguished as a warrior, or hunter, was resorted to by others, who became his followers, remained with him as long as he was successful, and dispersed whenever he experienced a reverse, or whenever game grew scarce. These combinations seldom last more than one season; and the same chief who now commands a hundred warriors, will perhaps spend his next year in hunting at some solitary spot by himself, or be wandering about at the head of a little band composed of his own relatives. In the next great war, or hunting party, he may be first, second, or third, in rank, or have no rank, just as it happens. Speaking of one of their large war parties, Mr. Tanner says, "on this occasion, men were assembled from a vast extent of country, of dissimilar feelings and dialects, and of the whole fourteen hundred, not one who would acknowledge any authority superior to his own

will. It is true that ordinarily they yield a certain deference, and a degree of obedience to the chief each may have undertaken to follow ; but this obedience, in most instances, continues no longer than the will of the chief corresponds entirely with the inclinations of those he heads." This is their situation at this time, and Governor Cass has recorded his opinion, " that in all the essential features of character and condition, this branch of the human family has been as stationary as any whose records are known to us."

We do not deny that in some of the more southern tribes, the power of the chief is more permanent, and the existence of the tribe more definite, than among the borderers of the North Western lakes ; but their notions of government, of personal rights, and of the social relation are similar, though not identical ; and our argument is as applicable to them as to others.

The plan that we would propose, would be to divide the whole Indian territory, into as many districts as could be conveniently arranged, so that each might be brought under the subjection of a governor. Governors should be placed over them, with ample powers, and with a sufficient military force, to make themselves obeyed. The Indians should be told, at once, that they are not independent, and that we intend to protect and rule them ; that *they must cease entirely from war*, and from wandering at all, into the territories of their neighbours. A council to be selected by them, composed of a few of their chief men, should assist the governor in making laws, which should be few, brief, and simple. The Indian agents, the annuities, the presents, and the traders,

should all be withdrawn. No white man should reside, or remain in the Indian country, but the governor and his subordinates. No Indian should be permitted to trade with a white man, within the Indian country.

Instead of preventing the Indians from coming into *our country* to trade, they should be encouraged to do so, as this would be one of the most effectual means of enabling them to learn our language, and adopt our customs. They should be encouraged to build houses, and to own cattle, hogs, and poultry. It should be distinctly understood that the government would not supply them with food or clothing. The annuities which we are bound by treaty to pay, would have to be paid: but all other gratuities should be withheld. The consequences would be, that the Indians would soon become an indolent pastoral people. They would not at first become an industrious, agricultural people; that change would be too violent. They would first grow lazy and harmless. Prevented from going to war, they would lose their warlike habits. Their cattle would soon increase to large herds, and abundance of food would lessen the necessity of their hunting.

Their almost frantic passion for ardent spirits would be decreased by the same means, for we have no doubt, that one of the causes of their attachment to it is, that it deadens the painful sense of hunger which among them is constitutional. An Indian, like a wolf, is always hungry, and of course is always ferocious. In order to tame him, the sense of hunger must be removed; it is useless to attempt to operate on the mind, while the body is in a state of suffering. It is well ascertained that the Indian, is, for about half his

time, destitute of food, and obliged either to endure the pangs of hunger, or to use the most arduous exertions to procure provisions. The attempt to civilise a human being thus circumstanced is preposterous. To be satisfied of this, it is only necessary to read "Tanner's Narrative," which was carefully prepared by one who was capable of understanding the exact meaning of the relator, and stating it with clearness. His whole thirty years among the Indians, were spent in active exertions to get something to eat. Few solemnities, and fewer amusements, are spoken of throughout the volume; whenever a number of Indians collected together, they were presently dispersed by hunger. To live three, four, or five days, without eating was not uncommon. Sometimes they subsisted for weeks, upon a little bear's grease, sometimes they chewed their mocasins, and peltries. Often they were reduced to eat their dogs, or to subsist for whole days upon the inner bark of trees. Stealing, hiding food from each other, and every species of rapacity and meanness, became the consequence; and this is not the tale of one day, or one year, or a single tribe, but the disgusting burthen of a story which comprehends a series of years, and describes the people of a whole region. As the procuring of food is the great object of their lives, the moment that object is removed, the mind, relieved of its burthen, will either turn its energies in some other direction, or sink to repose. The latter is the most probable consequence.

At present the Indians are prevented from keeping live stock, or making any permanent provision for the future, by the insecurity of the lives they lead. A

friend of ours, who asked a Saukie, "why do you not build houses to put your corn in, as we do, instead of burying it in the ground, and getting so much of it wasted?" was answered, "if we put our corn in houses, the Winnebagoes would come in the winter, and kill us to get it." If they were asked why they keep no domestic animals about them, except dogs and horses, the reply would be similar. They build no houses, make no fields, nor any provision for a permanent residence, and all for the same reason—*property* of any description, would tempt the rapacity of their enemies. Security is only found in poverty, and swiftness of foot, and in their happiest state, they are always prepared for instant flight. We repeat, that the attempt to civilise such a people is absurd. We have begun at the wrong end. Their habits must be first changed, and their physical wants supplied, before any effect can be produced on their minds and hearts. The proposition is well understood, as applied to ourselves, that *security* of person and property, is the basis of all our rights, and is the chief cause of all our civilisation. Why should not the converse of that proposition be true of the Indians: that the insecurity of property, or rather the entire absence of all ideas of property, is the chief cause of their barbarism. We apprehend then, that the chain of causes by which the condition of this unhappy race must, if at all, be ameliorated, will be interwoven in something like the following order; first, *personal security*, by the entire abolition of war, among them; secondly, *permanent habitations*, and thirdly, *notions of property*. Let these three things be accomplished, and the work is done.

Let the Indians be settled in fixed residences, be secure, and begin to own property, and the rest will succeed as certainly as cause and effect. Ideas of comfort and order will spring up of themselves.

There are several reasons, why the Indians ought to trade with us only in *our country*. They would learn our language, see our customs, imbibe our opinions, and especially would get definite ideas of the value of different articles of property. They would be induced to purchase articles of dress and ornament, such as are worn by us, until by degrees their appearance would be assimilated to ours. Imperceptibly they would fall into the use of many articles, of which they are now ignorant; such as mechanical tools, culinary utensils, and farming implements. Every such article, thus adopted, would be a messenger of civilisation. But the most important end to be gained, would be the protection of the savage from imposition. Humanity shudders at the recital of the nefarious acts practised by the white traders upon the Indians. Yet not the half of them are known or dreamt of by the American people. We refer again to Mr. Tanner's narrative, which every man who has a vote on this subject ought to read. Here we find the traders sometimes taking *by force*, from an Indian, the produce of a whole year's hunt, without making him any return, sometimes pilfering a portion while buying the remainder, and still oftener wresting from the poor wretches, while in a state of intoxication, a valuable property, for an inadequate remuneration. In one place our author tells of an Indian woman, his adopted mother, who, "in the course of a

single day, sold one hundred and twenty beaver skins, with a large quantity of buffalo robes, dressed and smoked skins, and other articles *for rum*." He pathetically adds, "of all our large load of peltries, the produce of so many days of toil, of so many long and difficult journeys, *one blanket, and three kegs of rum only remained*, besides the poor and almost worn out clothing on our bodies." The sending of missionaries, to labour by the side of the miscreants who thus swindle, and debauch the ignorant savage, is a mockery of the office, and a waste of the time, of those valuable men. If the Indians traded within our states, with our regular traders, the same laws, and the same public sentiment which protects us, would protect them.

The missionary operations, among the roving tribes have heretofore proved entirely nugatory. When we are told of what has been done among the Cherokees, the Choctaws, and other southern Indians, the view that is given of the case is partially deceptive—not intentionally untrue, but delusive, to some degree in point of fact, and entirely as regards the causes, to which the degree of civilisation which exists, is attributed. In the first place, it should be understood that the civilisation which exists, is most perceptible among the *half-breeds*, and has affected the full-blooded Indians, in a very slight degree. Again, so far as their habits have been changed, the effect has been produced by the very causes which we have ventured to suggest as essential. They have been separated from other tribes, surrounded by the whites, restrained from war, and confined to their own hunting grounds. They were perfectly secure, as far as their persons

were concerned; and the whites who settled among them, and married squaws, introduced notions of property, and became themselves wealthy. Their prejudices and peculiarities being thus blunted, and their habits in some degree softened, the way was open to the missionary, who must always *follow*, and not *precede* the march of civilisation.

But the attempt to civilise the roving bands, by reason, by the mere force of truth, by any effect on the mind, has always exclusively been, and will continue to be, abortive. The physical impediments must first be removed. Among white men, has christianity, literature, or the arts, ever flourished, during a period of civil war, or anarchy? In a period of military misrule, when martial virtues were alone esteemed, have the arts of peace ever flourished? In those countries where the peasantry are oppressed, and have no rights, property, or education, are they not degraded and ferocious? If we trace the savage bands of Europe, from their former state of barbarism, to their present moral elevation, we shall find the same causes always to have operated. The first step has always been the acquisition of permanent habitations, and the consequent love of country and of home. The possession of property, and civil rights next followed. Then emancipation from their chiefs, and political rights began to be demanded. The state of war became inconvenient. Commerce between nations softened prejudices, produced the interchange of commodities, encouraged the arts, and enlarged the stock of knowledge.

The minister of the gospel, and school teacher, have

been powerful agents in all these changes; but they have never marched in the van. They form powerful corps in the main body, but their business is to secure and improve the acquisitions, which bone and muscle, and courage and skill, have obtained. As the rifle and the axe must subdue the forest, before the husbandman can cultivate the soil, so must the strong arm of the nation, produce *peace*, enforce obedience, and organise a system of civil rights and restraints, before the mild precepts of the gospel, and the fructifying streams of knowledge, can be made to pervade the wilderness, and to teach the desert to blossom as the rose.

This subject might be illustrated by many examples from history, by a variety of facts now in existence, and a long train of argument. But we are admonished that it has already occupied as much space as it is proper to devote to one topic, in such a work as ours. We are satisfied with having thrown out a few of the prominent points of our view of the case. Others, who feel interested, can pursue the investigation at their leisure. It must soon occupy the serious attention of the government, and the people; and when all the facts shall be presented, in a connected view, it will be seen that the present system of Indian relations, must be radically changed, or wholly abandoned; and the question to be decided will be, whether the savage tribes shall be driven beyond our frontiers, and left to their fate, or be subjected to the wholesome constraint of our laws. The indolent and the timid may shrink from the latter alternative, because it is novel, and bears the semblance of violence, but humanity

of these grants, and the negligence with which they were made, has caused great perplexity to congress, and to the courts of law.

Under the administration of M. St. Ange, St. Louis assumed the appearance of a town, and the foundations of social order were laid. The soldiers became amalgamated with the inhabitants; comfortable dwellings were erected; and the *common fields*, as they are now called, were opened and improved. All accounts which have reached us, agree in describing the government as mild and patriarchal; the whole community seem to have lived together as a single family, under the guidance of a common father, enjoying a common patrimony.

A curious remark has occurred to us, upon a comparison of the first settlements of the English and the French. Though the latter nation has always been inferior to the former in the mechanical arts, especially in those of the useful kind; and though the English invariably deny to the French any adequate perception of the enjoyments embraced by themselves under the word *comfort*, both these propositions would seem to be reversed by the evidence to which we allude. The first habitations of the English were log cabins, the most unsightly and comfortless, and their descendants, to this day, commence all their villages with the same rude dwellings, or with frail erections of framed timber, while the garden and the orchard have been tardily introduced. The old French villages, on the contrary, consisted of substantial houses of stone, or of heavy timber, plastered with excellent mortar, encompassed by piazzas, and surrounded by gardens stocked

with fruit, and enclosed with walls, or strong stockades. The first habitations of the English have mouldered away, and comparatively few relics remain to attest their character, while many houses in the French villages have been left, by the hand of time, in their primitive integrity, durable monuments of the taste and comfort of the original proprietors. The excellence of their masonry has been often remarked; the walls of Fort Chartres, though long since abandoned, and left exposed to the elements, are so indestructible, that the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, in attempting to remove the materials, have found it difficult to take them apart.

In 1768, after St. Ange had governed at St. Louis three years, Mr. Rious arrived with Spanish troops, and took possession of Upper Louisiana, in the name of his catholic majesty; but did not exercise any jurisdiction, as it appears from the records in the *Livre Terrien*, that St. Ange continued to perform official acts until 1770. It is inferred, that the reluctance of the inhabitants to submit to the change of rulers was so great, that it was judged prudent to defer the assertion of the new authority, until the dissatisfaction caused by the transfer of the country had worn away, and the people become reconciled to their new master. The wisdom of this policy became apparent, in the firm attachment which was displayed towards the Spanish government, so that when the province was retroceded to France, in 1800, the people again expressed their dissatisfaction at the change; and they were not less displeased at the subsequent transfer to the United States.

In 1767, was founded Vuide Poche, which, in 1796, took the name of Carondelet. Florissant was founded in 1769; Les Petites Cotes was settled in 1769, and called St. Charles in 1804.

The inhabitants of St. Louis continued for about fifteen years to live in perfect harmony with the Indians, without molestation, and without any apprehension of danger. The first hostilities do not appear to have arisen out of any quarrel between the parties themselves, but resulted from the contest raging between Great Britain and her colonies. In 1777, a rumour came to this remote spot, that an attack would shortly be made upon the town, by the Canadians and such Indians as were friendly to the English. The village was then almost destitute of military defences, but the inhabitants, including little more than a hundred men, immediately proceeded to inclose it with a kind of wall, about six feet high, formed of the trunks of small trees, planted in the ground, the interstices being filled with earth. It described a semicircle, resting upon the river, above and below the town, flanked by a small fort at one extremity, and a less important work at the other. It had three gates for egress towards the country, each defended by a piece of heavy ordnance, which was kept continually charged. For a while, these preparations seemed to have been needless; winter passed away, and spring came, without any attack; the labours of husbandry were resumed, and the villagers laid aside their fears, and their military exercises.

In May, 1778, the attack was made, in a manner characteristic of the times and place. The force of

the enemy, consisting of a motley band of about fourteen hundred men, collected from various tribes residing on the lakes, and the Mississippi—Ojibeways, Menomeniēs, Winnebagoes, Sioux, Saukies, and some Canadians—assembled on the eastern shore of the Mississippi, a little above St. Louis, awaiting the 6th of May, the day fixed for the attack. The 5th of May was the feast of *Corpus Christi*, a day highly venerated by the inhabitants, who were all Catholics. An assault on that day would have been fatal; for after attending divine service, the villagers, old and young, men, women, and children, sallied out in all the glee of a catholic holiday, unsuspecting of danger, to the neighbouring prairie, to gather the ripe strawberries, of which there was a great profusion. The town, left unguarded, could have been easily taken. A few only of the enemy, however, had crossed the river: and these, lying ambushed in the prairie, made no effort to disturb the peaceable villagers, who were frequently so near as to be almost in contact with the lurking savages. But the latter either did not discover the total desertion of the town, or with the known pertinacity of the Indian character, determined to adhere to the preconcerted plan of attack.

The enemy crossed the river on the 6th, and marched to the fields, where they expected to find the most of the villagers engaged in their agricultural pursuits. It happened that but few were there, who fled under a shower of bullets, and barely escaped with the aid of their friends in the village, who, on hearing the alarm, rushed to the gates, which they threw open to receive their comrades, and then closed against the enemy.

The inhabitants, men and women, acted with spirit, and the savages, after receiving a few discharges of grape shot, retired, after killing about twenty of the whites. An indelible stain was fixed upon the character of the commandant, Leyba, who not only took no share of the danger, but even commanded the inhabitants to cease firing, and used such exertions to cripple the defence, that he was suspected of treachery; while his lieutenant, Cartabona, with sixty soldiers, remained concealed in a garret during the whole action. The reader of colonial history, will be struck with the coincidence of this event with many which occurred in all the American colonies, under whatever foreign dominion; the inhabitants were often plunged into wars with the Indians, with whom they had no quarrel, by the policy of their superiors—wars, of which the effects fell solely upon themselves, which were prosecuted by their arms, and successfully terminated by their valour. This first attack upon St. Louis, formed an era in the history of the place, and the year in which it occurred is still designated by the inhabitants as "*L'annee du grand coup.*" The town was afterwards more strongly fortified, and was not again molested by the Indians.

In the month of April, 1785, there was an unparalleled rise of the Mississippi, which swelled to the extraordinary height of thirty feet above the highest water mark previously known. The town of Kaskaskia was completely inundated, and the whole of the *American Bottom* overflowed. This year forms another era in the reminiscences of the old inhabitants,

who call it the *year of the great waters*—" *L'annee des grandes eaux.*"

The intercourse with New Orleans was at this period neither frequent nor easy. The only mode of transporting merchandise, was by means of keel-boats and barges, which descended the river in the spring, and returned late in the autumn. The preparations for a voyage to *the city*, as New Orleans was called, were as extensive and deliberate, as those which would now be made for a voyage to the East Indies. Instead of the rapid steamboats which render the navigation of our long rivers so easy, they had the tardy and frail barge, slowly propelled by human labour. There was also danger, as well as difficulty, in the enterprise; a numerous band of robbers, under the command of two men named Culbert and Magilbray, having stationed themselves at a place called "*La riviere aux liards*," *Cottonwood creek*, where they carried on a regular and extensive system of piracy. As the voyage was long, and the communication between the two ports was attempted but once a year, the boats were generally so richly laden, that the capture of one of them afforded wealth to the plunderers, and brought ruin upon the owner. An incident of this description, illustrative of the facts to which I allude, I will narrate, as I find it in an excellent article on the history of St. Louis, from which I have already quoted liberally.*

In the spring of 1787, a barge belonging to Mr. Beausoliel, had started from New Orleans, richly

* *Illinois Monthly Magazine.*

laden with merchandise, for St. Louis. As she approached the Cottonwood creek, a breeze sprung up and bore her swiftly by. This the robbers perceived, and immediately despatched a company of men up the river for the purpose of heading. The manœuvre was effected in the course of two days, at an island, which has since been called Beausoliel's island. The barge had just put ashore—the robbers boarded, and ordered the crew to return down. The men were disarmed, guards were stationed in every part of the vessel, and she was soon under way. Mr. Beausoliel gave himself up to despair. He had spent all he possessed in the purchase of the barge and its cargo, and now that he was to be deprived of them all, he was in agony. This vessel would have shared the fate of many others that had preceded it, but for the heroic daring of a negro, who was one of the crew. Cacasotte, the negro, was a man rather under the ordinary height, very slender in person, but of uncommon strength and activity. The colour of his skin and the curl of his hair, alone told that he was a negro, for the peculiar characteristics of his race had given place, in him, to what might be termed beauty. His forehead was finely moulded, his eyes small and sparkling as those of a serpent, his nose aquiline, his lips of a proper thickness; in fact, the whole appearance of the man, joined to his known character for shrewdness and courage, seemed to indicate, that under better circumstances, he might have shone conspicuous in the history of nations. Cacasotte, as soon as the robbers had taken possession of the barge, began to make every demonstration of uncontrollable

joy. He danced, sang, laughed, and soon induced his captors to believe that they had liberated him from irksome slavery, and that his actions were the ebullitions of pleasure. His constant attention to their smallest wants and wishes, too, won their confidence, and whilst they kept a watchful eye on the other prisoners, they permitted him to roam through the vessel unmolested and unwatched. This was the state of things that the negro desired; he seized the first opportunity to speak to Mr. Beausoliel, and beg permission to rid him of the dangerous intruders. He laid his plan before his master, who, after a great deal of hesitation, acceded to it. Cacasotte then spoke to two of the crew, likewise negroes, and engaged them in the conspiracy. Cacasotte was cook, and it was agreed between him and his fellow conspirators, that the signal for dinner should be the signal for action. The hour of dinner at length arrived. The robbers assembled in considerable numbers on the deck, and stationed themselves at the bow and stern, and along the sides, to prevent any rising of the men. Cacasotte went among them with the most unconcerned look and demeanour imaginable. As soon as he perceived that his comrades had taken the stations he had assigned to them, he took his position at the bow of the boat, near one of the robbers, a stout, herculean man, who was armed cap-a-pie. Every thing being arranged to his satisfaction, Cacasotte gave the preconcerted signal, and immediately the robber near him was struggling in the waters. With the speed of lightning, he went from one robber to another, and in less than three minutes, he had

thrown fourteen of them overboard. Then seizing an oar, he struck on the head those who attempted to save themselves by grappling the running boards, then shot with the muskets that had been dropped on deck, those who swam away. In the mean time, the other conspirators were not idle, but did almost as much execution as their leader. The deck was soon cleared, and the robbers that remained below, were too few in number to offer any resistance.

Having got rid of his troublesome visitors, Mr. Beausoliel deemed it prudent to return to New Orleans. This he accordingly did, taking care when he arrived near the Cottonwood creek, to keep the opposite side of the river. He reached New Orleans, and gave an account of his capture and liberation to the governor, who thereupon issued an order, that the boats bound for St. Louis in the following spring, should all go in company, to afford mutual assistance in case of necessity. Spring came, and ten keel-boats, each provided with swivels, and their respective crews well armed, took their departure from New Orleans, determined, if possible, to destroy the nest of robbers. When they neared the Cottonwood creek, the foremost boat perceived several men near the mouth, among the trees. The anchor was dropped, and she waited until the other boats should come up. In a few moments they appeared, and a consultation was held, in which it was determined that a sufficient number of men should remain on board, whilst the others should proceed on shore to attack the robbers. The boats were rowed to shore in a line, and those appointed for that purpose, landed and began to search

the island in quest of the robbers, but in vain ! They had disappeared. Three or four flat-boats were found in a bend of the creek, laden with all kinds of valuable merchandise—the fruits of their depredations. A long low hut was discovered—the dwelling of the robbers—in which were stored away numerous cases of guns, (destined for the fur trade,) ammunition and provisions of all kinds. The greater part of these things were put on board the boats, and restored to their respective owners, at St. Louis.

This proceeding had the effect of dispersing the robbers, for they were never after heard of. The arrival of ten barges together at St. Louis, was an unusual spectacle, and the year 1788 has ever since been called the *year of the ten boats*.

As we do not design to speak of the history of the French settlements in minute detail, we shall only add that there were several others, cotemporaneous with those which we have mentioned, the chief of which were Detroit and Vincennes. The former was founded in 1670, the latter in 1702. The manners and habits of the people, and their adventures, were similar to those we have described ; except that Detroit being situated at a more exposed point, and surrounded by warlike tribes, who were engaged in hostilities with each other, experienced more of the vicissitudes of war.

The French seem to have been mainly induced to penetrate into these remote regions, in search of the precious metals ; an eager desire for which had been awakened in Europe by the discoveries of the Spaniards in South America, and by a general belief of the

existence of similar treasures on the northern continent. That such was the fact, is sufficiently proved by the frequent mention of mines and minerals, in all the charters and larger grants of territory made by the French crown, as well as by the numerous and expensive efforts of individuals and companies, in the pursuit of the precious ores.

The leaders in these enterprises were gentlemen of education and talents, who had no inducements to remain in these remote settlements, after the disappointment of their hopes, and either returned to France, or settled in Lower Louisiana, where they found a more genial climate than in the higher latitudes. The remainder were pacific and illiterate rustics, who brought no property, nor entertained any ambitious views. Few of them had come prepared for either agricultural or commercial pursuits, and when the dreams of sudden wealth, with which they had been deluded, faded from before them, they were not disposed to engage in the ordinary employments of enlightened industry. Perhaps the inducement, as well as the means, was wanting. There was little encouragement for agriculture, where there was no market for produce; there could be few arts, and but little commerce, at points so distant from the abodes of civilised men. They were besides an unenterprising and contented race, who were ignorant of the prolific resources of the country around them, and destitute of the slightest perception of its probable destiny—its rapid advancement in population and improvement. Whatever might have been the views of their government, the French settlers indulged no

ambitious visions, and laid no plans, either for territorial aggrandisement, or political domination. They made no attempt to acquire land from the Indians, to organise a social system, to introduce municipal regulations, or to establish military defences; but cheerfully obeyed the priests and the king's officers, and enjoyed the present, without troubling their heads about the future. They seem to have been even careless as to the acquisition of property, and its transmission to their heirs. Finding themselves in a fruitful country, abounding in game, where the necessities of life could be procured with little labour, where no restraints were imposed by government, and neither tribute nor personal service was exacted, they were content to live in unambitious peace, and comfortable poverty. They took possession of so much of the vacant land around them, as they were disposed to till, and no more. Their agriculture was rude; and even to this day, some of the implements of husbandry, and modes of cultivation, brought from France a century ago, remain unchanged by the *march of mind*, or the hand of innovation. Their houses were comfortable, and they reared fruits and flowers; evincing, in this respect, an attention to comfort and luxury, which has not been practised among the English or American first settlers; but in the accumulation of property, and in all the essentials of industry, they were indolent and improvident, rearing only the bare necessities of life, and living from generation to generation without change or improvement.

The only new arts which the French adopted, in consequence of their change of residence, were those

Mississippi river. This stream is now called Mary, and by one of our geographers, St. Mary.

August 14, 1743, Monsieur Vaudriauel, governor, and Monsieur Salmon, commissary ordonnateur of the province of Louisiana, granted to the inhabitants of Kaskaskia, a tract of land as a common, for the use of said inhabitants for ever, which was bounded north by the southern limit of said village, east by the Kaskaskia river, south and west by the Mississippi and the limits of the "common field." The common field is a tract, composed of various grants in severalty, made to individual inhabitants in *franc allieu* (fee simple), and which, from the first, has been enclosed in one common fence, and subjected to certain regulations. We see here a custom peculiar to the French. There was attached to almost every village, a *common*, belonging to the village in its municipal character, which was left unenclosed, for pasturage and other purposes. No portion of this could be alienated or converted into private property, but by the unanimous act of the villagers. When a young couple married, or a person settled in the village, who was too indigent to purchase land, they sometimes made to such parties donations of a few acres of the common, by deed, signed by all the inhabitants; and the lot thus severed, became private property, and might be added, if conveniently situated, to the *common field*. The latter was owned in parcels by individuals, who held a larger or smaller number of acres, in separate lots, each tilling his own land, although the whole was surrounded by a single fence, and the several parts were not divided by enclosures.

Previous to the year 1748, Spain, France, and England, claimed the greater part of North America, by right of conquest, or of discoveries made under their patronage, respectively. The treaty of Aix la Chapelle, made in that year, contained a provision for the restitution of the territories which each had wrested from the other, but was wholly silent as to boundaries. France, however, owned Canada on the north, and Lower Louisiana on the south, besides claiming the intermediate discoveries of La Salle and others, on the upper lakes, the Mississippi, and the Illinois.

The French government, at a very early period, adopted the policy of uniting their possessions in Canada with those in Louisiana, by a chain of posts, which, extending along the whole course of the northern lakes, and the Mississippi, should open a line of interior communication from Quebec to New Orleans, and which would secure to them the expansive territory of the west, by confining their English neighbours to the country east of the Alleghany ridge. It happened, however, with the French, as with the English, that all their calculations in reference to their American colonies, were formed upon a scale too small, as well in regard to the objects to be secured, as in relation to the extent of the means to be employed. The minds of their statesmen seem to have never embraced the whole vast field upon which their policy was to operate. They appear to have had but feeble conceptions of the great extent of the country, and to have been entirely ignorant of the amount and character of the means necessary for its subjection. .

Their schemes wanted unity of design, and the ill-assorted parts seldom harmonised together. Thus, although the French established military posts, and planted colonies throughout the whole of this region, they were so distant from each other, and so unconnected, as to afford no mutual support, nor could they ever be brought to act efficiently together, as component parts of any colonial or military system. The plan—or want of plan—was happily conceived for our benefit; and was disadvantageous only to those, whose want of wisdom, and of vigour, deprived them of territory at an earlier period than that at which they would otherwise have lost it.

It is curious to reflect upon the situation of these colonists. Their nearest civilised neighbours were the English on the shores of the Atlantic, distant a thousand miles, from whom they were separated by a barrier then insurmountable, and with whom they had no more intercourse than with the Chinese. Their countrymen, it is true, had posts throughout the west, but they were too distant for frequent intercourse, and they were peopled by those, who, like themselves, were disconnected from all the rest of the world. But the French brought with them, or found in their vicinity, certain elements of prosperity, which enabled them to flourish in spite of the disadvantages of their unprotected situation. They were unambitious and contented. It was always their policy to conciliate the natives, whom they invariably treated with a kindness and consideration never shown to that unhappy race by other Europeans, and with whom they preserved a faith unbroken upon either side.

In a few years, Kaskaskia grew into a town, whose population has been variously estimated, at from 1 to 8,000 inhabitants; the latter number is doubtless an exaggeration, but either of them indicates a wonderful population for a place having little commerce, no arts, and no surrounding territory. They lived chiefly by agriculture, hunting, and trading with the Indians. They possessed a country prolific in all the bounties of nature. The wild fruits were abundant. The grape, the plum, the persimmon, and the cherry, attain here a size unknown in less favoured regions. The delicate *pecan*, the hickory nut, the walnut, and the hazle, strew the ground during the autumn, excelling the corresponding productions of the Atlantic states, as much in size and flavour as in quantity. Of domestic fruits, the peach, the apple, and the pear, attain great perfection. Here the maple yields its sugar, and the cotton its fibre, the sweet potato and Indian corn yield abundantly, while wheat, and many other of the productions of colder countries, come to perfection. Around them were spread those magnificent natural meadows, that mock, in their extent and luxuriance, the highest efforts of human labour. The deer, the buffalo, and the elk, furnished in those days bountiful supplies—the rivers abounded with fish—while the furry and the feathered tribes afforded articles for comfort and for trade. Surrounded thus by good things, what more could a Frenchman have desired unless it were a violin and a glass of claret? The former we are told they had, and we have good authority for saying, that they drank excellent wine from their own grapes.

Of their civil, military, and religious institutions we have little on record, but enough may be gathered to show that, though simple and efficient, they were entirely anomalous. The priests seem to have been prudent men. At a time when religious intolerance was sufficiently fashionable, we hear of no trouble among our French. The good men who regulated their consciences, seem to have prized "the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit," so highly, as to be content to pursue their own vocation in peace with all the world. The military sway, which was paramount, seems to have been equally mild—perhaps because it was equally undisputed—and as for the civil jurisdiction, we find so little trace of it, either on record, or in tradition, as to induce the belief that the people seldom needed its interposition. Some old deeds which remain of record at Kaskaskia, are dated as far back as 1712, framed, of course, on the model of civil law, and written in a choice old provincial dialect. Their legal proceedings were brief and simple—so much so, that we, with our notions, should have called them arbitrary. Yet such was their attachment to their ancient customs, that with the kindest feelings towards our country, and our people, they could ill brook the introduction of the common law, when their territory was ceded to our government. They thought its forms burthensome and complicated, and many of them removed to Louisiana, where the civil law was still in force.

Separated thus from all the world, these people acquired many peculiarities. In language, dress, and manners, they lost much of their original polish; but

they retained, and still retain, many of the leading characteristics of their nation. They took care to keep up their ancient holidays and festivals; and with few luxuries and fewer wants, they were probably as cheerful and as happy a people as any in existence.

Kaskaskia, called in the old French records, "Notre dame de Cascasquias," is beautifully situated on the point of land formed by the junction of the Mississippi and Kaskaskia rivers. It is not at the point of confluence, but four miles above, where the rivers approach to within less than two miles of each other; and the original plan of the town extended across from river to river. In this respect, the position is precisely analogous to that of Philadelphia. The point widens below the town, and embraces a large tract of immensely fertile land, mostly common, covered with plum, grape, pecan trees, and other of the richest productions of nature. Here a number of horses, turned loose by the first settlers, increased to large droves of animals, as wild as the original stock. They have now been in a state of nature for more than a century. The inhabitants catch and tame them when wanted for use; and the "point horses," though small, are celebrated for their spirit and hardiness. The site of the town is on a level alluvial plain, composed of a deep and extremely rich soil. On the opposite side of the Kaskaskia river, the land is high and broken. This river is 350 feet wide opposite the town, and preserves a considerable width and depth, with a scarcely perceptible current, uninterrupted by an obstruction for more than fifty miles upwards;

beyond that, the current is still gentle, and the stream would be navigable for small boats, in high water, to Vandalia, distant ninety-five miles by land, and more than two hundred by the meanders of the river, if a few obstructions, consisting entirely of fallen timber, should be removed.

This village still retains many striking evidences of its origin, and of the peculiar character of its inhabitants. Many of the old houses remain, and afford curious specimens of the architecture of the people and the period. Some of them were built of stone, others were of framed timber, with the interstices filled with cement. They were usually plastered over with a hard mortar, and white-washed. The gable ends are often placed to face the streets, and the great roofs exhibited a heavy and singular construction. The houses were generally but one story high, and spread out so as to occupy a large surface; and those of the better order were surrounded by piazzas, a comfortable fashion still retained in the dwellings of the planters in Louisiana. To almost all the houses, large gardens were attached, enclosed with high stone walls, or by picketing, composed of large stakes planted perpendicularly in the ground. The inhabitants cultivated a great profusion of fruits and flowers; and, although abstemious in their diet, lived in ease and comfort.

The old church at Kaskaskia, is a venerable pile, which, although more than a century old, is still in a tolerable state of preservation, and is used as a place of worship by the Catholic inhabitants. It is very large, and is built in a quaint old fashioned style.

The construction of the roof is a great curiosity; its extensive and massy surface being supported by an immense number of pieces of timber, framed together with great neatness and accuracy, and crossing each other at a variety of different angles, so that no part of the structure can by any possibility sink until the whole shall fall together. In this church are several valuable old records, and among others a baptismal register, containing the generations of the French settlers from about the year 1690.

In 1763, France ceded her possessions east of the Mississippi, to England. Captain Philip Pittman of the English army, visited "the country of Illinois," in 1770, and published an account of it, from which we glean the following particulars. Kaskaskia contained at that time, according to Captain Pittman, sixty-five families, besides merchants, casual people, and slaves, an enumeration which we have reason to suppose fell greatly short of the truth. The fort, which was burnt down in 1766, stood on the summit of a high rock opposite the town, on the other side of the Kaskaskia river. Its shape was an oblong quadrangle, of which, the exterior polygon measured 290 by 251 feet. It was built of very thick squared timber, dovetailed at the angles. An officer and twenty soldiers were quartered at the village in 1770, and the inhabitants were formed into two companies of militia. The officer governed the village, under the direction of the commandant at Fort Chartres.

La Prairie de Rocher, thirteen miles from Kaskaskia, is described as being, at that time, a "small village, with twelve dwelling-houses." The number

must certainly have been much greater, as there were two hundred inhabitants in 1820, when the village had fallen to decay. Here was a little chapel, formerly a chapel of ease to the church at Fort Chartres. The village was distant from the fort seven miles, and took its name from its situation, being built at the base of a high parapet of rock, that runs parallel to the Mississippi.

“Saint Philippe,” says Captain Pittman, “is a small village, about five miles from Fort Chartres, on the road to Kaoquias; there are about sixteen houses, and a small church standing; all the inhabitants, except the captain of militia, deserted it in 1765, and went to the French side. The captain of militia has about twenty slaves, a good stock of cattle, and a watermill. This village stands in a very fine meadow, about one mile from the Mississippi.”

“The village of Saint Famille de Kaoquias,” says the same writer, “contains forty-five dwellings, and a church near its centre. The situation is not well chosen, being overflowed. It was the first settlement on the Mississippi. The land was purchased of the savages, by a few Canadians, some of whom married women of the Kaoquias nation, and others brought wives from Canada. The inhabitants depend more on hunting and their Indian trade, than agriculture, as they scarce raise corn enough for their own consumption. They have a great deal of poultry, and good stocks of horned cattle. The mission of Saint Sulpice had a fine plantation here, and a good house on it. They sold this estate, and a very good mill for corn and planks, to a Frenchman, who chose to remain

here under the English government. What is called the fort, is a small building in the centre of the village, which differs nothing from the other houses, except being the meanest. It was enclosed with palisades, but these are rotted or burnt. There is no use for a fort here."

Some curious facts are also recorded in a rare volume, written by Daniel Coxe of New Jersey, who visited this region, during the occupancy of the French.

Fort Chartres, when it belonged to France, was the seat of government of the Illinois country. It was afterwards the head quarters of the English commanding officer, who was in fact the arbitrary governor of this region. The shape of the fort was an irregular quadrangle, with four bastions. The sides of the exterior polygon were about 490 feet in extent. It was designed only as a defence against Indians. The walls, which were of stone and plastered over, were two feet two inches thick, and fifteen feet high, with loop-holes at regular distances, and two port-holes for cannon in each face, and two in the flanks of each bastion. The ditch was never finished. The entrance was through a handsome rustic gate. Within the wall was a small banquette, raised three feet, for the men to stand upon when they fired through the loop-holes. Each port or loop-hole, was formed of four solid blocks of rock, of freestone, worked smooth. All the cornices and casements about the gate and buildings were of the same material, and appeared to great advantage.

The buildings within the fort, were the command-

ant's and commissary's houses, the magazine of stores, *corps de garde*, and two barracks, occupying the square. Within the gorges of the bastions were a powder magazine, a bake-house, a prison, in the lower floor of which were four dungeons, and in the upper, two rooms, and some smaller buildings. The commandant's house was ninety-six feet long and thirty deep, containing a dining-room, a bed-chamber, a parlour, a kitchen, five closets for servants, and a cellar. The commissary's house was built in a line with this, and its proportions and distribution of apartments were the same. Opposite these, were the store-house and guard-house; each ninety feet long by twenty-four deep. The former contained two large store-rooms, with vaulted cellars under the whole, a large room, a bed-chamber, and a closet for the keeper; the latter, soldiers' and officers' guard rooms, a chapel, a bed-chamber, and closet for the chaplain, and an artillery store room. The lines of barracks, two in number, were never completely finished. They consisted of two rooms in each line for officers, and three for soldiers; they were good, spacious rooms, of twenty-two feet square, with passages between them. All these buildings were of solid masonry, and well finished. There were extensive lofts over each building, reaching from end to end, which were made use of to contain regimental stores, working and entrenching tools, &c. It was generally allowed that this was the most commodious and best built fort in North America. The bank of the Mississippi next the fort, was continually falling in, being worn away by the current which was turned from its course by a sand-

bar that soon increased to an island, and became covered with willows. Many experiments were tried to stop this growing evil, but to no purpose. When the fort was begun in 1756, it was half a mile from the water side; in 1766, it was eighty paces; and the western angle has since been undermined by the water. In 1762, the river was fordable to the sand-bar; in 1770, the latter was separated from the shore by a channel forty feet deep. Such are the changes of the Mississippi. In the year 1764, there were about forty families in the village of Fort Chartres, and a parish church, served by a Franciscan friar, dedicated to St. Anne. In the following year, when the English took possession of the country, they abandoned their houses, except three or four poor families, and settled at the villages on the west side of the Mississippi, choosing to continue under the French government.

The writer visited the ruins of Fort Chartres in 1829. It was situated, as well as the villages above-named, on the American bottom, an extensive and remarkably fertile plain, bounded on one side by the river, and on the other by a range of bluffs, whose summits are level with the general surface of the country. The bluffs are steep, and have the appearance of having once formed the eastern bank of the Mississippi. It would seem that they composed a continuous, even, and nearly perpendicular parapet, separating the plain which margins the river, from the higher plain of the main land. But the ravines washed by rains, have indented it in such a manner, as to divide the summit into a series of rounded ele-

variations, which often present the appearance of a range of Indian mounds. These bluffs are so called when bare of timber, which is their usual character; and when their beautifully graceful undulations are exposed to the eye, they form one of the most remarkable and attractive features of the scenery of this country. When timbered they do not differ from ordinary hills. We approached Fort Chartres in the summer, when the native fruit trees were loaded with their rich products. Never did we behold the fruits of the forest growing in such abundance, or such amazing luxuriance. Immense thickets of the wild plum might be seen, as we rode over the prairie, extending for miles along its edges, so loaded with crimson fruit as to exhibit to the eye a long streak of glowing red. Sometimes we rode through thickets of crab-apple, equally prolific, and sometimes the road wound through copses matted with grape vines, bearing a profusion of rich clusters. Although the spot was familiar to my companion, it was with some difficulty that we found the ruins, which are now covered and surrounded with a young but vigorous and gigantic growth of forest trees, and with a dense undergrowth of bushes and vines, through which we forced our way with considerable labour. Even the crumbling pile itself is thus overgrown, the tall trees rearing their stems from piles of stone, and the vines creeping over the tottering walls. The buildings were all razed to the ground, but the lines of the foundations could be easily traced. A large vaulted powder magazine remained in good preservation. The exterior wall, the most interesting vestige, as it gave the general outline of

the whole, was thrown down in some places; but in many, retained something like its original height and form; and it was curious to see in the gloom of a wild forest, these remnants of the architecture of a past age. One angle of the fort, and an entire bastion, had been undermined and swept away by the river, which, having expended its force in this direction, was again retiring, and a narrow belt of young timber had grown up between the water's edge and the ruins.

Many curious anecdotes might still be picked up in relation to these early settlers; especially in Illinois and Missouri, where the Spanish, French, English, and American authorities have had sway in rapid succession. At one time the French had possession of one side of the Mississippi, and the Spaniards of the other, and a story is told of a Spaniard living on one shore, who, being the creditor of a Frenchman residing on the other, seized a child, the daughter of the latter, and having borne her across the river, which formed a national boundary, held her as a hostage for the payment of the debt. The civil authorities, respectively, declined interfering; the military did not think the matter sufficiently important to create a national war, and the Frenchman had to redeem his offspring by discharging the creditor's demand. The lady who was thus abducted is still living, or was living a few years ago, near Cahokia, the mother of a numerous progeny of American French people.

Having spoken of the pacific disposition evinced by the French in their early intercourse with the Indian tribes, it is proper to remark, that we allude particularly to those who settled on the Wabash and upper

Mississippi. They have every where treated the savages with more kindness and greater justice than the people of other nations; but there have been exceptions, which we are not disposed to conceal or palliate. In lower Louisiana, they emulated, in some instances, the cruelty of the Spaniards and the rapacity of the English; but in Illinois, their conduct towards their uncivilised neighbours seems to have been uniformly friendly and amiable; and the descendants of the first settlers of that state still enjoy the confidence of the Indian tribes.

We have heard of an occasion on which this reciprocal kindness was very strongly shown. Many years ago, a murder having been committed in some broil, three Indian young men were given up, by the Kaskaskia tribe, to the civil authorities of the newly established American government. The population of Kaskaskia was still entirely French, who felt much sympathy for their Indian friends, and saw these hard proceedings of the law with great dissatisfaction. The ladies, particularly, took a warm interest in the fate of the young aboriginals, and determined, if they must die, they should at least be converted to Christianity in the mean while, and be baptised into the true church. Accordingly, after due preparation, arrangements were made for a public baptism of the neophytes in the old cathedral of the village. Each of the youths was adopted by a lady, who gave him a name and was to stand godmother in the ceremony; and these lady patronesses, with their respective friends, were busily engaged for some days in preparing dresses and decorations for their favour-

ites. There was quite a sensation in the village. Never were there young gentlemen brought into fashion more suddenly or more decidedly; the ladies talked of nothing else, and all the needles in the village were plying, in the preparation of finery for the occasion. Previous to the ceremony—that is, the ceremony of hanging—the aborigines gave their jailer the slip, and escaped, aided most probably by the ladies, who had planned the whole affair with a view to this result. The law is not vindictive in new countries; the danger soon blew over; the young men again appeared in public, and evinced their gratitude to their benefactresses.

It is with regret that we record the dispersion of this kind-hearted people from the dwellings of their fathers. Several generations flourished happily in Illinois, under the mild sway of the French government. The military commandants and the priests governed them with an uncontrolled, but with a parental authority. They were not oppressed with taxes, nor do we read of their having any political grievances. They were unambitious and submissive.

The first adventurers to Louisiana and Canada had exchanged the fruitful fields and vineyards of France for the inhospitable wilds of the new world, not to pursue their former occupations, but to amass opulent fortunes by mining. They expected to find a country rich in precious minerals, and great was their disappointment when they came to realise their condition. The Indian trade furnished their only means of subsistence. They took little pains to examine the quality of their lands, or to ascertain what products

were suited to the soil and climate. The consequence was that the great mass of them became poor, the spirit of enterprise was extinguished, and they grew as inert as they were inoffensive. They became boatmen and hunters, and the labours of nine tenths of the population on distant lakes and rivers, exposed to danger, privation, and death, served only to augment the wealth, of a few traders and merchants. The physical strength of a community, depends more on agriculture than on any other pursuit. The ancient French were ignorant of this truth, and their descendants have not learned it to this day. They seldom attempted any thing more than the cultivation of their gardens, and the raising of a little grain for their own consumption. In the mechanic arts they made no progress; they still use some of the implements of agriculture introduced by their forefathers a century ago; and drive vehicles, such as were in fashion in some provinces of France at the same period. But they were contented. The most perfect equality reigned among them. They lived in harmony, all danced to the same violin, and preserved their national vivacity and love of amusement.

When their country came into the possession of the American government, they were displeased with the change. There never was a stronger instance of the unfitness of republican institutions for an ignorant people. Accustomed to be ruled by the officers of the French crown, and to bestow no thought on matters of public policy, they disliked the machinery of municipal institutions, which they did not understand, and considered it a hardship to be called upon to elect

officers, or perform civil duties. It is said that a few years ago, when the inhabitants of one of these villages were told that it would be proper for them to attend an election, to vote for a member of congress, one of their principal men declared that it was an imposition to send any man so far from home—that *he* would not go to congress, nor would he assist in imposing such an unpleasant duty upon any of his neighbours.

The influx of a population dissimilar to themselves in manners, language, religion, and habits, displeased them; the enterprise and fondness for improvement of the American settlers, fretted and annoyed them. The land lying waste around them, they had considered as a kind of common property—the natural inheritance of their children and countrymen; and when any one wished to convert a portion of it to his own use, he applied to the lieutenant-governor, who granted a *concession* for a certain number of acres. But now they saw all this domain surveyed and offered for sale to the highest bidder; and there was a fair prospect, that, in a few years, there would be no wilderness remaining to hunt in, and no range for their wild ponies and cattle.

When the American government, therefore, took possession of the country, the majority of the wealthiest inhabitants removed,—some to St. Louis, which was rising into a promising commercial town, and others to lower Louisiana, where they could enjoy their own laws, customs, and language. The more indigent scattered themselves along the frontier, and became boatmen, hunters, and interpreters, in the

employ of Indian traders. A remnant remained, whose descendants are still a peculiar people, but are slowly, though perceptibly, losing their distinctive character, and becoming amalgamated with the surrounding population.

Another anecdote of these times is worth recording. When General George Rogers Clarke, the Hannibal of the west, captured Kaskaskia, he made his headquarters at the house of a Mr. Michel A——, one of the wealthiest inhabitants. Michel lived in a capital French house, enveloped with piazzas and surrounded by gardens—all in the most approved style. He was a merry, contented, happy man, abounding in good living and good stories, and as hospitable as any gentleman whatever. The general remained his guest some time, treated with the greatest kindness and attention, and took leave of Mr. A. with a high respect for his character, and a grateful sense of his warm-hearted hospitality. Years rolled away; General Clarke had retired from public life, and was dwelling in a humble log house in Indiana, a disappointed man. His brilliant services had not been appreciated by his country; his political prospects had been blighted; he was unemployed and unhappy—a proud man, conscious of merit, pining away his life in obscurity. One day, as he strolled along the banks of the Ohio, he espied a circle of French boatmen, the crew of a barge, who were seated round a fire on the beach, smoking their pipes, and singing their merry French songs. One voice arrested his ear—it was that of his old friend Michel; he could not mistake the blithe tones, and ever buoyant humour, of his former host. He ap-

proached, and there sat Michel in the garb of a boatman, with a red cap on his head, the merriest of the circle. They recognised each other instantly. Michel was as glad to see the general, and invited him to take a seat on the log beside him with as much unembarrassed hospitality, as if he had still been in his spacious house, surrounded by his train of servants. He had suddenly been reduced from affluence to poverty—from a prosperous gentleman, who lived comfortably on his estate, to a boatman—the cook, if we mistake not, of a barge. Although a man of vivacity and strong mind, he was illiterate and unsuspecting. The change of government had brought in new laws, new customs, and keener speculators than the honest French had been accustomed to deal with, and Michel was ruined. But he was as happy as ever; while his friend, the general, whose change of circumstances had not been so sudden or complete, was a moody, discontented man. Such is the diversity of national character.

CHAPTER II.

Founding of St. Louis—History of that colony—Transfer to Spain—Attack by the Indians—Intercourse with New Orleans—A gallant exploit—Other French settlements.

The city of St. Louis was founded in the year 1764, by Monsieur Laclede, one of the partners in a mercantile association, known under the name of Laclede, Ligueste, Maxan & Company, to whom the director general of the province of Louisiana had granted the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians of the Missouri, and those west of the Mississippi, above the Missouri, as far up as the river St. Peter. The traffic in furs and peltry with these distant tribes, though of great value, would have been unavailable without a suitable place for the deposit of merchandise; and to induce the company to hazard the establishment of such a depot, which would also serve as the nucleus of new settlements west of the Mississippi, extensive powers were given to the gentlemen engaged in this enterprise. M. Laclede, therefore, formed an expedition, at the head of which he set out from New Orleans, on the 3d of August, 1763, and arrived at Ste. Genevieve, where it seems there was already a small settlement, on the 3d of November—the voyage which is now accomplished in ten days by our steamboats, occupying those adventurers three months, with their inferior means of transportation. This point being too

distant from the Missouri, he proceeded to the mouth of that river, and on his return fixed upon the site. Having wintered at Fort Chartres, and gained some recruits at that place, Cahokia, and Ste. Genevieve, he commenced, on the 15th of February, 1764, the work of cutting down trees and laying out a town, which he called St. Louis, after the reigning king of France. In consequence of some subsequent distress, on account of a scarcity of provisions, it received the popular name of *Pain Court*, by which it was called for many years. M. Auguste Chouteau, then about fourteen years of age, who has since been one of the most opulent and enterprising of the citizens of that place, and is but recently deceased, was of the party which laid the foundation of this flourishing city.

In the selection of this site, a degree of sagacity was shown, which has seldom marked such transactions. The spot is elevated above the inundations of the river, from whose margin the ground rises gradually, and is based on a thick stratum of rock, which affords the most admirable materials for building. Above and below, along the river, was an abundance of timber, and to the west an unlimited expanse of fertile prairies; while on the east were the rich plains of Illinois. A short distance below were the lead mines, which have, for half a century past, afforded a valuable article of trade; a few miles above the town, the Missouri and Illinois rivers united their waters with those of the Mississippi, extending the channels of intercourse throughout a vast interior region; and this obscure spot in the heart of a great continent, and far distant from the ocean, was visited by the birch

canoes from Quebec, as well as by the barges from New Orleans.

In July, 1765, Fort de Chartres was evacuated by the French, and *M. de St. Ange de Belle Rive*, the commander, proceeded to St. Louis with the troops, and assumed the reins of government. From this time St. Louis was considered as the capital of Upper Louisiana. Having organised a government, one of his first acts was to parcel the land to the settlers, to whom M. Laclede had given possession, but not titles.

He accordingly made the *Livre Terrien*, or land-book, in which grants of land were not *recorded* only, but originally written, and a copy of the entry made in this book constituted the evidence of title in the hands of the grantee. These concessions were not considered as inchoate grants, which were to be ratified by a higher authority, but as perfect titles, independent of any condition, except those of the land being subject to taxation, and being improved by the grantee, within a limited time. The mode of obtaining grants was by petition or *requete*, addressed to the commandant; and the concession generally ran, after reciting the application, thus: "On the day and year aforesaid, at the request of——, we have granted, and do grant to him, his heirs, and assigns, the lot (or piece of land, describing its contents, boundaries, and locality), which he prays for, with the condition that he shall establish it within a year and a day, and that it shall be subject to the public charges. *ST. ANGE.*"

Nearly the same form of concession was used under the Spanish authority. There was usually, however, a stipulation contained in them, that in case the condi-

feeling of the composition itself, and who forget that genuine eloquence is not the offspring of refinement. But all doubt on this subject has long since been removed, by the testimony of General Gibson, of Pennsylvania, who interpreted the speech when delivered, and of other officers who were present at the treaty, and who many years afterwards remembered distinctly the impression made upon their minds by the affecting appeal of the unlettered chieftain.

General Andrew Lewis, who acted so conspicuous a part in this campaign, was a gentleman of whose military abilities General Washington entertained so high an opinion, that, when the chief command of the revolutionary armies was tendered to himself, he recommended that it should rather be given to General Lewis. He was the companion of Washington in the fatal campaign under Braddock, and was a captain in the detachment that fought at Little Meadows in 1752. He commanded a company of Virginians, attached to Major Grant's regiment of highlanders, in 1758; and, on the eve of the battle in which the latter was so signally defeated, was ordered to the rear with his men, in order that he might not share the honour of the expected victory. There he stood with his brave Virginians, impatiently listening to the reports of the musketry, at a distance of more than a mile from the battle-ground, until the Europeans were defeated, and wholly exposed to the merciless tomahawk of the Indians; when, without waiting for orders, he rushed to the scene of slaughter, and, by his coolness and skill, turned the scale of victory, drove back the savages,

and saved the regulars from massacre. While advancing to the rescue, he met a Scottish Highlander under full flight; and on enquiring of him how the battle was going, the panic-struck soldier replied, they were "a' beaten, and he had seen Donald M'Donald up to his hunkers in the mud, and a' the skin aff his heed."

CHAPTER IV.

M'Intosh's Expedition—Fort Laurens—Moravian towns—Destruction of the Moravians—Crawford's campaign.

In the spring of 1778, a small body of regular troops was sent out for the protection of the western frontiers, under General M'Intosh, who built a fort on the site of the present town of Beaver. It was a strong stockade, with bastions, mounting one six-pounder.

In the fall of that year, having received instructions to make a campaign against the Sandusky towns, he marched in that direction with a thousand men, but it was too late in the season to operate efficiently. He therefore erected Fort Laurens on the bank of the Tuscarawa, and leaving a garrison there of one hundred and fifty men, retired to Fort Pitt.

The inexpediency of erecting forts so far in advance of the settlements, was soon experienced. In the month of January, the Indians came secretly in the night and caught the horses that were grazing near the fort. These they carried off, having first taken from their necks the bells which the new settlers hung to their domestic animals, in order to be able to find them when running at large in the woods. They then formed an ambuscade by the side of a path leading from the fort, and in the morning early rattled the bells in that direction. A fatigue party of sixteen men, who were sent out as usual to collect the horses,

fell into the snare. Fourteen were killed on the spot, and two taken. In the evening of that day the whole Indian army, in full dress, and painted for war, appeared on the prairie in sight of the fort, marching towards it, in single file, with every martial solemnity which could render their appearance imposing. Their number, as counted from one of the bastions, was eight hundred and forty-seven. They encamped on a rising ground on the opposite side of the river from the fort, and often approached so near as to hold conversations with our people—in which they deplored the war, but did not attempt to conceal their feelings of exasperation at the Americans for penetrating so far into their country. After besieging the fort for about six weeks, they retired; and the commander despatched Colonel Clark to Fort M'Intosh, with the invalids, under a small escort. The Indians, anticipating that the garrison would be thrown off its guard by their retreat, had left a party lingering behind, which intercepted this little detachment, about two miles from the fort, and killed all but four.

A few days after this disaster, General M'Intosh came to the relief of the garrison, with a body of seven hundred men and a supply of provisions, of which the lately besieged party stood in great need, but the greater part of which was lost by an uncommon accident. When the relieving troops were about to enter the fort, the overjoyed garrison saluted them by a general discharge of musketry, at the report of which the pack-horses, taking fright, broke away suddenly from their drivers, and dashed off through the forest at full speed—scattering the provisions in every

direction, so that a large proportion of them could never be recovered. To understand fully the extent of this misfortune, it should be stated that the garrison had been, for two weeks, on short allowance of sour flour and damaged meat—even this wretched resource was exhausted; and, for several days previous to the arrival of the relief, they had subsisted on raw hides, and such roots as could be found in the woods and prairies. Several men had suffered death, in consequence of eating poisonous herbs. Such were some of the incidents of border warfare, and the hardships of the brave pioneers who led the van of civilisation into our beautiful valley!

About the year 1772, some missionaries, of the order of Moravian brethren, succeeded in establishing a community of Indians, who embraced their faith, and who were collected into three villages, on the Muskingum, called Salem, Gnaden-huetten, and Schoenbrund. What progress they made in imparting to their converts the arts of civilisation, and the principles of Christianity, cannot now be satisfactorily ascertained. It is only certain that they induced them to live in peace, and to engage in the cultivation of the soil, and that they prospered so far as to increase their numbers to four hundred people. The times, however, were adverse to a fair trial of their experiment, and their location was not less unpropitious. Occupying a position midway between the advanced settlements of the whites, and the villages of some of the hostile Indians, and practising a pacific demeanour which both parties alike despised, they were

suspected by each alternately of secretly favouring the other.

They continued however to be treated with some degree of respect, until the breaking out of the revolution in 1775, when their situation became in the highest degree embarrassing. Early in this contest, the British government enlisted under her banners the tomahawk of the Indian, and the whole western frontier became a scene of sanguinary warfare. The American colonies, barely able to sustain their fleets and armies on the sea board, had neither troops nor supplies to send to the frontier. The pioneers defended themselves against the combined forces of the British and Indians, appointed their own officers, erected forts, and bore, unaided, the whole weight of the revolutionary contest.

As they were not assisted, so they were not controlled by the government, and became a law unto themselves; carrying on a desultory warfare, without plan, and without restraint. A lawless disposition grew up, which led to the perpetration of many acts, that would not have been approved under any system of social subordination, or military law.

The warfare between them and the Indians soon assumed a vindictive and merciless character; a hatred, deep, stern, and mutual, governed the contest, and the parties fought not to conquer, but to exterminate.

The warriors of either side, in passing the neutral villages of the Moravians, situated midway between them, often found it convenient to stop, and it was no easy matter for that pacific community to preserve its neutrality. To avoid the suspicions of partiality

was impossible. Even their aversion to the shedding of blood, led them into acts which however humane, were incautious. On some occasions, they sent secret messages to the whites, to apprise them of plans, laid by the savages, to surprise a fort, or massacre a settlement; and they received the famished prisoners who escaped from the Indians, secreted and fed them, and enabled them to elude the pursuit of their enemies. On the other hand, the red warriors found a resting place in either of the Moravian villages, whenever they claimed its hospitality, and perhaps experienced all the offices of charity and friendship which were extended to our people.

It followed as a matter of course, that whenever a secret plan of one party was discovered and frustrated by the other, the Moravians were supposed to be the treacherous betrayers; and the failure of an expedition brought upon them the heavy imprecations of the side which had met with discomfiture. All the kindness which had been received from them was blotted out by their alleged treason, or the partiality that jealous warriors suspected them to entertain towards their foes.

The Moravian villages were called "The half way houses of the warriors;" and this phrase began to be used in fierce derision, by the stern and lawless men, who despised the peaceable tillers of the soil, who took neither side, but opened their doors alike to all comers. In 1781, the war chief of the Delawares apprised the missionaries of their danger, and urged them to remove, but they declined. In the fall of the same year, a party of three hundred Indians destroy-

ed the villages, desolated the fields, and turned the unhappy converts to Christianity, into the wilderness, upon the plains of Sandusky, where many of them perished of famine during the ensuing winter. The missionaries were carried to Detroit, and after being strictly examined, were permitted by the British government to return to their people.

In the ensuing month of February, one hundred and fifty of the Moravian Indians returned to their ruined villages, to seek among the desolated hearth-stones, some remnants of their once plentiful stores of food, for their perishing families. Here they encountered a body of militia from the settlements, by whom ninety of these unoffending creatures were wantonly slain. A wretched remnant returned to their starving companions at Sandusky, affording a melancholy evidence of the little estimation in which the virtues of peace are held, during the stern excitement of a border war.

The celebrated campaign under Colonel Crawford, was undertaken in 1782, for the double purpose of completing the destruction of the Moravian Indians, in their new town at Sandusky, and of destroying the Wyandot towns on that river. The force employed consisted of 480 men, all of whom were volunteers, who were chiefly raised in the immediate vicinity of the Ohio.

We shall not repeat the details of this campaign, which seem to have been badly planned, and not well conducted. An act of insubordination on the part of the men, upon first meeting with a few of the enemy,

induced Colonel Crawford to indulge in melancholy forebodings, which were but too fatally realised.

On the plains of Sandusky they were met by an Indian army, and a severe engagement ensued, which lasted from noon until sunset.

On the next day, the number of Indians increased, and the encampment was surrounded by a numerous host of savages. A retreat was resolved upon; but even this measure was almost impracticable, for the way was blocked up by enemies, who disputed every step, and threw every obstacle in the path of our discomfited countrymen. The army became panic-struck, and all its measures seem to have been the result of mere impulse. A difference of opinion arose, as to the best mode of retreating: the greater number considering it advisable to retire in a compact body, while a considerable number thought it safer to break up into small parties, which should strike homeward in different directions. Unfortunately both plans were attempted, but neither of them prosecuted with energy; and while the majority determined to preserve the force entire, small parties were continually detaching themselves, which fell into the hands of the enemy, who quick-sighted in discovering the insubordinate and distracted state of our army, adapted their warfare to the occasion, and hovered about to cut off those who left the main body.

Colonel Crawford himself, missing his son, son-in-law, and two nephews, who were supposed to have fallen in the rear, lingered behind the troops to seek them, and was taken prisoner. He was conducted, with several other captives, to an Indian town, where

he was beaten, tortured, and finally burnt at the stake, with every indignity and every aggravation of suffering that savage malignity could invent. The infamous Simon Girty, an agent of the British government, witnessed these atrocities; and not only refused to intercede for the brave but unfortunate Crawford, but even laughed heartily at the agonies of the perishing captive.

This was the last campaign, in this quarter, during the revolutionary war; it was wretchedly planned and worse conducted; and on no occasion did the savages obtain more ample revenge, or gratify their hatred to the whites with more brutal ferocity. But Crawford was the last white man known to have suffered at the stake.

We have passed over several minor expeditions, and a variety of individual adventures, which occurred, at the period under review, in this interesting region. But we cannot omit an incident which strongly marks the character of the times, and shows at how early an age the young pioneers imbibed those traits of cunning, of patient endurance, and of self-possession, which distinguished our hardy borderers.

In the year 1793, two brothers, John and Henry Johnson—the one thirteen, and the other eleven years of age—whose parents lived in Carpenter's station, near Short Creek, on the west side of the Ohio, were roaming through the woods in search of their father's cattle. They were met and captured by two Indians, both of whom, as it turned out afterwards, were distinguished warriors.

The Indians had bridles in their hands, and were

seeking the horses of the settlers, for the purpose of stealing; and they continued their ramble, taking the boys with them. John, the oldest, had the tact to accommodate himself at once to his situation; and, affecting great joy at being captured, informed the savages that his father had treated him cruelly, and that he had long meditated an escape to the Indian country. He said that he wished to live in the woods and be a hunter, and seemed to enter with spirit into the search of the Indians after the horses of the white men. This conduct conciliated the favour of the savages, who treated them kindly. They were careful, however, not to trust their little prisoners too far, but pinioned their arms; and at night, when they laid down, placed the boys between them, secured by a large strap which was passed under their own bodies.

"Pretty late in the night," says the narrator of this incident,* "the Indians fell asleep; and one of them, becoming cold, caught hold of John in his arms, and turned him over on the outside. In this situation the boy, who had kept awake, found means to get his hands loose; he then whispered to his brother, made him get up, and untied his arms. This done, Henry thought of nothing but running off, as fast as possible; but, when about to start, John caught hold of him, saying, "we must kill these Indians before we go." After some hesitation, Henry agreed to make the attempt. John took one of the rifles of the Indians, and placed it on a log with the muzzle close to the head of one of them. He then cocked the gun, and placed his little brother at the breech with his finger

* Dr. Doddridge.

on the trigger, with instructions to pull it, as soon as he should strike the other Indian.

“He then took one of the Indians’ tomahawks, and standing a-straddle, of the other Indian, struck him with it. The blow, however, fell on the back of the neck and to one side, so as not to be fatal. The Indian then attempted to spring up, but the little fellow repeated his blows with such force and rapidity on the skull, that, as he expressed it, ‘the Indian laid still and began to quiver.’

“At the moment of the first stroke given by the elder brother, the younger one pulled the trigger, and shot away a considerable portion of the Indians lower jaw. This Indian, a moment after receiving the shot, began to flounce about and yell in the most frightful manner. The boys then made the best of their way to the fort, and reached it a little before day-break. On getting near the fort, they found the people all up, and in great agitation on their account. On hearing a woman exclaim “poor little fellows, they are killed, or taken prisoners,” the eldest one answered, “no mother ! we are here yet.”

Having brought away nothing from the Indian camp, their relation was not credited ; but a party having been conducted by the boys to the spot, one Indian was found killed, and the other desperately wounded.

At the treaty held subsequently by General Wayne, a friend of the Indians who had been killed, enquired what had become of these boys, and on being answered, that they lived in the same place, with their parents, the Indian exclaimed, “You have not done right, you should make kings of those boys.”

CHAPTER V.

Manners of the early settlers in western Virginia—Mode of emigration—Habits of living—Hunting—Weddings—Religion.

These historical facts should be kept in mind by those who are curious in their researches, in reference to the springs of national character. The strong peculiarities, and prominent points of western character, are most properly sought among those who came first, who have lived longest under the influences of a new country, and who have been least affected by the subsequent influx of emigrants from the sea board; they are found best developed in western Pennsylvania, western Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee—and in the more western settlements which have been formed chiefly from these states: they are least observable where the population is most mixed, and are scarcely perceptible in our large commercial towns and cities.

We shall add here a few illustrations of the character and habits of the early settlers, selected from the work of Dr. Doddridge, to which we have already more than once referred.

The book before us, is the production of a reverend gentleman, who was reared in the wilderness, and was intimately acquainted with the whole subject on which he writes. His father came to western Virginia in 1773, during the deceptive calm which preceded the rupture of 1774, usually called Dunmore's

war. Brought up in the wilderness, the inmate of a cabin, Dr. Doddridge spent his whole life in the midst of those dangers and vicissitudes which make up the life of the borderer, and has detailed a variety of minute circumstances, which render his book exceedingly valuable.

The author adverts, in an introductory chapter, to the feelings with which, at the age of fifty, he looks back upon a life, passed wholly amid the scenes of the wilderness, and embracing changes so rapid and so wonderful, as almost to exceed belief. His earliest recollections are of the log cabin, the fort, the boundless wilderness, and perils of the chase. His infant slumbers were disturbed by the yell of the Indian, and the scene of his sports was a forest in which danger lay ambushed under so many shapes, that even the child grew cunning in eluding, and self-possessed in meeting it. The exploits of the chase and of the border warfare formed the familiar gossip of the fire-side. Then followed the rapid expansion of the settlements, and the introduction of civil institutions—the ingress of inhabitants, the establishment of counties, the building up of villages, the erection of court-houses and places of worship, until at last, extensive farms, valuable manufactories, commercial marts, and richly freighted vessels, occupied the places, which in the memory of the writer, had been solitary places and scenes of carnage.

Some of these reminiscences are amusing enough, yet afford matter of serious reflection, when we recollect that the privations described were those of

thousands of the gallant men to whom we are indebted for the conquest of the country.

He says, "some of the early settlers took the precaution to come over the mountains in the spring, leaving their families behind to raise a crop of corn, and then return and bring them out in the fall. This I should think was the better way. Others, especially those whose families were small, brought them with them in the spring. My father took the latter course. His family was but small, and he brought them all with him. The Indian meal which he brought over the mountains, was expended six weeks too soon, so that for that length of time we had to live without bread. The lean venison, and the breast of wild turkeys, we were taught to call bread. The flesh of the bear was denominated meat. This artifice did not succeed very well; after living in this way for some time, we became sickly; the stomach seemed to be always empty, and tormented with a sense of hunger. I remember how narrowly the children watched the growth of the potato tops, pumpkin and squash vines, hoping from day to day to get something to answer in the place of bread. How delicious was the taste of the young potatoes when we got them! What a jubilee when we were permitted to pull the young corn for roasting ears! Still more so, when it had acquired sufficient hardness to be made into johnny cakes, by the aid of a tin grater. We then became healthy, vigorous, and contented with our situation, poor as it was."—p. 100.

"The furniture of the table, for several years after the settlement of this country, consisted of a few

pewter dishes, plates, and spoons, but mostly of wooden bowls, trenchers, and noggins. If these last were scarce, gourds and hard shelled squashes made up the deficiency. The iron pots, knives and forks, were brought from the east side of the mountains, along with salt and iron, on pack-horses.”—p. 109.

“I well recollect the first time I ever saw a tea-cup and saucer, and tasted coffee. My mother died when I was about six or seven years of age. My father then sent me to Maryland, with a brother of my grandfather, Mr. Alexander Wells, to go to school.”

“At Col. Brown’s in the mountains, at Stony creek glades, I for the first time saw tame geese, and by bantering a pet gander, I got a severe biting by his bill, and beating by his wings. I wondered very much that birds so large and strong, should be so much tamer than the wild turkeys: at this place, however, all was right, excepting the large birds which they called geese. The cabin and furniture was such as I had been accustomed to see in the backwoods, as my country was then called.

“At Bedford, every thing was changed. The tavern at which my uncle put up, was a stone house, and to make the changes still more complete, it was plastered in the inside, both as to the walls and ceiling. On going into the dining room, I was struck with astonishment at the appearance of the house. I had no idea that there was any house in the world that was not built of logs; but here I looked round and could see no logs, and above I could see no joists; whether such a thing had been made by the hands of

man, or had grown so of itself, I could not conjecture. I had not the courage to enquire any thing about it. When supper came on, my confusion was "worse confounded." A little cup stood in a bigger one, with some brownish looking stuff in it, which was neither milk, homminy, nor broth ; what to do with these little cups, and the little spoons belonging to them, I could not tell ; but I was afraid to ask any thing concerning the use of them.

"It was in the time of the war, and the company were giving accounts of catching, whipping, and hanging tories. The word jail frequently occurred; this word I had never heard before ; but I soon discovered, and was much terrified at, its meaning, and supposed that we were in danger of the fate of the tories ; for I thought as we had come from the backwoods, it was altogether likely that we must be tories too. For fear of being discovered, I durst not utter a single word. I therefore watched attentively to see what the big folks would do with their little cups and spoons. I imitated them, and found the taste of the coffee nauseous beyond any thing I ever had tasted in my life. I continued to drink as the rest of the company did, with tears streaming from my eyes ; but when it was to end, I was at a loss to know, as the little cups were filled immediately after being emptied. This circumstance distressed me very much, as I durst not say I had enough. Looking attentively at the grown persons, I saw one man turn his cup bottom upwards, and put his little spoon across it. I observed that after this his cup was not filled again ; I followed his

example, and to my great satisfaction, the result as to my cup was the same."

There is something in this anecdote very characteristic of the backwoods boy. All who have studied the habits of the people of the frontier, or indeed of any rude people, who are continually exposed to danger, have observed the wariness of the children, their independence, and their patience under suffering. Like the young partridge, that from the moment of its birth practises the arts necessary to its own safety, the child of the woods is self-dependent from early infancy. Such was the case in the scene so artlessly described by our author, where a child of six or seven years old, drank a nauseous beverage, for fear of giving offence, and instead of appealing to his relative for protection, observed and watched for himself, until he found out the means of relief by his own sagacity. An Indian boy would have done the same.

The following anecdote will be new to some of our readers: "A neighbour of my father, some years after the settlement of the country, had collected a small drove of cattle for the Baltimore market. Amongst the hands employed to drive them, was one who had never seen any condition of society but that of the woodsmen. At one of their lodging places in the mountain, the landlord and his hired man, in the course of the night, stole two of the bells belonging to the drove, and hid them in a piece of woods.

"The drove had not gone far in the morning before the bells were missed, and a detachment went back to recover them. The men were found reaping the field of the landlord. They were accused of the theft, but

they denied the charge. The torture of sweating, according to the custom of that time, that is, of suspension by the arms, pinioned behind the backs, brought a confession. The bells were procured and hung round the necks of the thieves. In this condition they were driven on foot before the detachment until they overtook the drove, which by this time had gone nine miles. A halt was called, and a jury selected to try the culprits. They were condemned to receive a certain number of lashes on the bare back, from the hand of each drover. The man above alluded to was the owner of one of the bells; when it came to his turn to use the hickory, "now," says he to the thief, "you infernal scoundrel, I'll work your jacket nineteen to the dozen—only think what a rascally figure I should make in the streets of Baltimore, without a bell on my horse!"

The man was in earnest; in a country where horses and cattle are pastured in the range, bells are necessary to enable the owners to find them; to the traveller who encamps in the wilderness, they are indispensable, and the individual described had probably never been placed in a situation in which they were not requisite.

Hunting was an important part of the employment of the early settlers. For some years after their emigration, the forest supplied them with a greater part of their subsistence; some families were without bread for months at a time, and it often happened that the first meal of the day could not be prepared until the hunter returned with the spoils of the chase. Fur and peltry were the circulating medium of the

country; the hunter had nothing else to give in exchange for rifles, salt, lead, and iron. Hunting, therefore, was the employment, rather than the sport, of the pioneers—yet it was pursued with the alacrity and sense of enjoyment which attends an exciting and favourite amusement. Dangerous and fatiguing as are its vicissitudes, those who become accustomed to the chase, generally retain through life their fondness for the rifle.

“The class of hunters with whom I was best acquainted,” says our author, “were those whose hunting ranges were on the western side of the river, and at the distance of eight or nine miles from it. As soon as the leaves were pretty well down, and the weather became rainy, accompanied with light snows, these men, after acting the part of husbandmen, so far as the state of warfare permitted them to do, began to feel that they were hunters, and became uneasy at home. Every thing about them became disagreeable. The house was too warm, the feather bed too soft, and even the good wife was not thought, for the time being, an agreeable companion. The mind of the hunter was wholly occupied with the camp and chase.

“I have often seen them get up early in the morning, at this season, walk hastily out and look anxiously to the woods, and snuff the autumnal winds with the highest rapture, then return into the house and cast a quick and attentive look at the rifle, which was always suspended to a joist by a couple of buck horns, or wooden forks. The hunting dog, understanding the intentions of his master, would wag his tail, and by

every blandishment in his power, express his readiness to accompany him to the woods."—p. 124.

A hunt usually occupied several days, and often extended to weeks; the hunter living in a camp, hidden in some secluded place, to which he retired every night, and where he kept his store of ammunition, and other plunder. There were individuals who remained for months together in the woods, and spent the greater part of their lives in these camps, which are thus described :

"A hunting camp, or what was called a half-faced cabin, was of the following form: the back part of it was sometimes a large log; at the distance of eight or ten feet from this, two stakes were set in the ground a few inches apart, and at the distance of eight or ten feet from these, two more, to receive the ends of poles for the sides of the camp. The whole slope of the roof was from the front to the back. The covering was made of slabs, skins, or blankets, or if in the spring of the year, the bark of the hickory or ash tree. The front was left entirely open. The fire was built directly before this opening. The cracks between the poles were filled with moss. Dry leaves served for a bed. It is thus that a couple of men, in a few hours, will construct for themselves a temporary, but tolerably comfortable defence against the inclemencies of the weather.

"The site for the camp was selected with all the sagacity of the woodsmen, so as to have it sheltered by the surrounding hills from every wind, but more especially from those of the north and south." The author might have added, that these shelters were so

artfully concealed, as to be seldom discovered except by accident. He continues :

“ An uncle of mine, of the name of Samuel Teter, occupied the same camp for several years in succession. It was situated on one of the southern branches of Cross creek. Although I lived many years not more than fifteen miles from the place, it was not till within a very few years ago, that I discovered its situation. It was shown me by a gentleman living in the neighbourhood. Viewing the hills round about it, I soon discovered the sagacity of the hunter in the site of his camp. Not a wind could touch him ; and unless by the report of his gun or the sound of his axe, it would have been mere accident if an Indian had discovered his concealment.

“ Hunting was not a mere ramble in pursuit of game, in which there was nothing of skill and calculation ; on the contrary, the hunter, before he set out in the morning, was informed by the state of the weather in what situation he might reasonably expect to meet with his game ; whether on the bottoms, or on the sides or tops of the hills. In stormy weather, the deer always seek the most sheltered places, and the leeward sides of hills. In rainy weather, when there is not much wind, they keep in the open woods, on the highest ground.

“ In every situation it was requisite for the hunter to ascertain the course of the wind, so as to get to leeward of the game.

“ As it was requisite too for the hunter to know the cardinal points, he had only to observe the trees to ascertain them. The bark of an aged tree is thicker

and much rougher on the north than on the south side. The same thing may be said of the moss.

“The whole business of the hunter consists in a series of stratagems. From morning till night he was on the alert to gain the wind of his game, and approach them without being discovered. If he succeeded in killing a deer, he skinned it, and hung it up out of the reach of the wolves, and immediately resumed the chase till the close of the evening, when he bent his course towards his camp; when he arrived there he kindled up his fire, and together with his fellow-hunter, cooked his supper. The supper finished, the adventures of the day furnished the tales for the evening. The spike buck, the two and three pronged buck, the doe, and barren doe, figure through their anecdotes. After hunting awhile on the same ground, the hunters became acquainted with nearly all the gangs of deer within their range, so as to know each flock when they saw them. Often some old buck, by means of his superior sagacity and watchfulness, saved his little gang from the hunter's skill, by giving timely notice of his approach. The cunning of the hunter, and of the old buck, were staked against each other, and it frequently happened that at the conclusion of the hunting season, the old fellow was left the free uninjured tenant of his forest; but if his rival succeeded in bringing him down, the victory was followed by no small amount of boasting.

“Many of the hunters rested from their labours on the sabbath day; some from a motive of piety; others said that whenever they hunted on Sunday they were sure to have bad luck for the remainder of the week.”

Among other graphic sketches, the reverend historian gives the following account of a wedding in the olden times.

“In the morning of the wedding day, the groom and his attendants assembled at the house of his father, for the purpose of reaching the mansion of his bride by noon, which was the usual time for celebrating the nuptials ; which for certain must take place before dinner.

“Let the reader imagine an assemblage of people, without a store, tailor, or mantuamaker, within a hundred miles, and an assemblage of horses, without a blacksmith, or saddler within an equal distance. The gentlemen dressed in shoepacks, mocassins, leather breeches, leggins, and linsey hunting-shirts, all home-made ; the ladies in linsey petticoats, and linsey or linen short-gowns, coarse shoes and stockings, handkerchiefs, and buckskin gloves, if any. If there were any buckles, rings, buttons, or ruffles, they were relics of old times—family pieces from parents or grandparents. The horses were caparisoned with old saddles, old bridles or halters, and packsaddles, with a bag or blanket thrown over them ; a rope or string as often constituted the girth as a piece of leather.

“The march in double file was often interrupted by the narrowness and obstructions of our horse-paths, as they were called, for we had no roads ; and these difficulties were often increased, sometimes by the good, and sometimes by the ill-will of neighbours, by falling trees and tying grape-vines across the way. Sometimes an ambuscade was formed by the way side, and an unexpected discharge of several guns took place, so

as to cover the wedding company with smoke. Let the reader imagine the scene which followed ; the sudden spring of the horses, the shrieks of the girls, and the chivalric bustle of their partners to save them from falling. Sometimes, in spite of all that could be done to prevent it, some were thrown to the ground. If a wrist, an elbow, or an ankle, happened to be sprained, it was tied with a handkerchief, and little more said or thought about it."

The author describes minutely the dinner, which was "a substantial backwoods feast of beef, pork, fowls, venison, and bear meat, roasted and boiled, with plenty of potatoes, cabbage, and other vegetables,"—and the dancing, which consisted of "three and four-handed reels, square sets, and jigs," and which "generally lasted 'till the next morning."

We leave out many amusing and curious descriptions, relating to the customs of this primitive people, to make room for the following remarks, which, coming from the pen of an aged and respectable Christian minister, are worthy of an attentive perusal. In a chapter on "civilisation," the author remarks the happy change in the moral and physical condition of the people among whom he has spent his life, points out many of the causes, and then proceeds as follows :

"The ministry of the gospel has contributed, no doubt immensely, to the happy change which has been effected in the state of our western society. At an early period of our settlements, three presbyterian clergymen commenced their clerical labours : the Rev. Joseph Smith, the Rev. John M'Millan, and the Rev. Mr. Bowers ; the two latter of whom are still living.

They were pious, patient, laborious men, who collected their people into regular congregations, and did all for them that their circumstances would allow. It was no disparagement to them, that their first churches were the shady groves, and their first pulpits a kind of tent constructed of a few rough slabs, and covered with clapboards. He who dwelleth not, exclusively, in temples made with hands, was propitious to their devotions.

“From the outset, they prudently resolved to create a ministry in the country, and accordingly established little grammar schools at their own houses, or in their immediate neighbourhoods. The course of education which they gave their pupils was, indeed, not extensive; but the piety of those that entered into the ministry, more than made up the deficiency. They formed societies, most of which are now large and respectable; and, in point of education, their ministry has much improved.”

This is taken from a book published in 1824, and of course was not written with any view to the questions which have subsequently been vexed—but what a severe rebuke does it convey, to those who are continually railing against the ignorance and irreligion of the west, and are inviting colonies from lands supposed to be more highly enlightened in reference to religion. The venerable pioneers of religion did not discover any sterility in the intellect of the west, which rendered instruction less efficacious here than elsewhere, and “they prudently resolved to *create a ministry in the country.*” Instead of inviting men from abroad, they established “grammar schools at their own

houses," and prepared the sons of their neighbours for the pulpit and the bar. This is the true theory, and the only one under which any country can flourish.

"About the year 1792, an academy was established at Cannonsburgh, in Washington county, in the western part of Pennsylvania, which was afterwards incorporated under the name of Jefferson college.

"The means possessed by the society for the undertaking, were indeed but small; but they not only erected a tolerable edifice for the academy, but created a fund for the education of such pious young men as were desirous of entering into the ministry, but unable to defray the expenses of their education.

"This institution has been remarkably successful in its operations. It has produced a large number of good scholars in all the literary professions, and added immensely to the science of the country.

"Next to this, Washington college, situated in the county town of the county of that name, has been the means of diffusing much of the light of science through the western country.

"Too much praise cannot be bestowed on those good men, who opened these fruitful sources of instruction for our infant country, at so early a period of its settlement. They have immensely improved the departments of theology, law, medicine, and legislation, in the western regions.

"At a later period, the methodist society began their labours in the western parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania; their progress at first was slow, but their zeal and perseverance at length overcame every obstacle, so that they are now one of the most numerous and

respectable societies in this country. The itinerant plan of their ministry is well calculated to convey the gospel throughout a thinly scattered population. Accordingly, their ministry has kept pace with the extension of our settlements. The little cabin was scarcely built, and the little field fenced in, before these evangelical teachers made their appearance among the inhabitants, collected them into societies, and taught them the worship of God.

“Had it not been for the labours of these indefatigable men, our country, as to a great extent of its settlements, would have been, at this day, a semi-barbarous region. How many thousands, and tens of thousands, of the most ignorant and licentious of our population, have they instructed and reclaimed from the error of their ways? They have restored to society even the most worthless, and made them valuable and respectable as citizens, and useful in all the relations of life. Their numerous and zealous ministry bids fair to carry on the good work to any extent which our settlements and population may require.

“With the catholics I have but little acquaintance, but have every reason to believe, that, in proportion to the extent of their flocks, they have done well. In this country, they have received the episcopal visitations of their bishops. In Kentucky, they have a cathedral, a college, and a bishop.

“Their clergy, with apostolic zeal, but in an unostentatious manner, have sought out and ministered to their scattered flocks throughout the country; and, as far as I know, with good success.

“The societies of friends in the western country are

numerous, and their establishments in good order. Although not much in favour of a classical education, they are nevertheless in the habit of giving their people a substantial English education. Their habits of industry, and attention to the useful arts and improvements, are highly honourable to themselves, and worthy of imitation.

“The baptists, in the state of Kentucky, took the lead in the ministry, and with great success. Their establishments are, as I am informed, at present, numerous and respectable.

“The German Lutheran and reformed churches in our country, as far as I know, are doing well. The number of Lutheran congregations is said to be at least one hundred; that of the reformed, it is presumed, is about the same amount.”

He remarks, that the Germans have the best churches, organs, and grave-yards; and adds—“It is a fortunate circumstance that those of our citizens, who labour under the disadvantage of speaking a foreign language, are blessed with a ministry so evangelical as that of these very numerous and respectable societies.”

It is refreshing to read this simple, and clear, yet impartial exposition of the labours of Christians of different sects, and to know that they have respectively done their duty—refreshing to learn that a numerous and zealous ministry were industriously employed in laying the foundations of education and religion, while many of those were yet unborn, who now are most fluent in describing the ignorance, destitution, and moral depravity, of our country.

PART III.

EVENTS IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF KENTUCKY.

CHAPTER I.

Early discoveries in Kentucky—Its occupation by Indians—Anecdote of two of the pioneers—John Finley's visit—Those of M'Bride, Dr. Walker, Boone, and others.

It is a curious fact, that the first explorers of this region found no Indians settled upon the shores of the Ohio. Throughout the whole length of this beautiful river, not a single vestige of an Indian town is to be found. The aboriginal tribes, who are always at war, seem to have had regard chiefly to that state, in choosing the sites of their villages. For savages, situated as they were, the most commanding positions were those lying near the sources of large rivers, from which they could descend in their canoes to attack an enemy below them, while their own villages would be approached with difficulty by canoes attempting to ascend against the stream. Where the head waters of two rivers approached and flowed away in different directions, affording increased facilities for sending off hunting expeditions and war parties, a spot in contact

with both streams possessed unusual advantages, and such places were generally occupied. But it will be seen, that, for the same reasons, the shores of a large river like the Ohio, into which numerous tributaries of great size and length poured their waters, would be exposed, above all others, to the attacks of savage warfare, as they would be easily accessible from a variety of directions.

It is not known that any tribe was ever settled permanently in Kentucky; no ownership was exercised over that region, when first visited by the whites; and no exclusive title was vested in any nation of Indians, though several claims were set up, the most important of which were those of the Cherokees and of the Six Nations. It was a common hunting-ground for many tribes, who visited it from a great distance—roaming over its rich pastures during the season for taking game, and making it their temporary residence during a part of every year, for that purpose. It was also the great battle-ground of the Indians, who met here in desperate conflict—either accidentally, when engaged in hunting, or by concert, in the mutual pursuance of a policy which induced them to carry their wars as far as possible from home. The name applied to it by the savages—*the dark and bloody ground*—is terribly significant of the sanguinary character of those conflicts, which rendered this region celebrated in the traditionary legends of that ferocious race. Whether any superstition invested the scenes of so many battles with a peculiar awe, and rendered the savage reluctant to reside here, where he might suppose the spirits of the fallen to be wandering, we have

not the means of knowing; we are only informed of the fact, that a tract of country the most luxuriant, the most abundant in game, and the most prolific in all the fruits, and the spontaneous productions of nature, which yield food; or other necessities of life, to the wandering tribes, was an uninhabited wilderness.

Although the pioneers found the country unoccupied by a resident population, and might properly have taken possession, without violating any law of nations, or moral principle; yet it was precisely in that condition which rendered any attempt to settle the land particularly dangerous. These boundless forests swarmed with parties of hostile savages, who resided too far from the settlements of the whites to fear their power, or to feel any wish to conciliate their friendship. Their own villages and families were, as they supposed, too distant to be exposed to the danger of retaliation. They were abroad, unincumbered with property or dependents, and prepared for war; no delay was suggested by prudence, nor any time required for consultation. A hated race had intruded into the hunting-grounds, for the possession of which they had long disputed among themselves, and with one accord the arms of all were turned against the invaders.

The pioneers were few—they acted on their own responsibility, with the countenance merely, but not the aid, of the government. In the whole history of the settlement of Kentucky, comprising a period of twenty years, neither men nor munitions were sent to these infant settlements. It was not until the Indians had been repeatedly beaten, and the power of our coun-

trymen was completely established in Kentucky, that the government began to send troops to the west; and the names of Wilkinson, Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne, are found in the annals of border warfare. And these officers acted chiefly on the western shores of the Ohio. Yet the pioneers were almost always successful in their battles, and the progress of the settlements was never stopped. They continued to increase steadily in numbers, and to spread gradually over the land. Although the warfare of the Indians was of the most unsparing character—accompanied with all the atrocities of the tomahawk, the firebrand, and the stake, the courage of the pioneers was never damped, and their conduct was equal to every emergency. Without detracting in the least from their merits, it may be inferred, from some of the facts above stated, that the war against them was never conducted with much skill or concert. Both parties were far from any place which could afford supply or relief, and neither possessed the requisite facilities for any long-sustained effort. The one party usually surprised the other, and the conflict was brief, sanguinary, and, for the time, decisive.

We have alluded, in our introductory chapter, to the character of the pioneers, and the mode of the earliest emigration to Kentucky. We shall now extend these remarks as far only as is necessary to an understanding of the peculiar habitudes of that remarkably original race, and to the elucidation of their early history.

About the year 1749, a citizen of Frederick county, in Virginia, who was subject to occasional fits of insa-

nity, roamed off into the woods, as was usually his practice, under such circumstances. Having rambled farther towards the west than was then customary with the hunters, he came to the waters of Greenbriar river; and, on his return, reported that he had found a stream whose waters ran to the west, and whose shores abounded in game. This intelligence excited the curiosity of the public; but we do not hear of any serious attempt to penetrate into the wilderness. The first desultory effort was that of Jacob Marlin and Stephen Sewell, who wandered out to Greenbriar, and established themselves in a cabin upon its banks. It seems, however, that if there be but two men in a country, they will find a subject for contention; at all events, it happened so with Marlin and Sewell, who quarreled—and the latter, for the sake of peace, quitted their cabin, and took up his abode in a hollow tree. In this situation they were found by General Andrew Lewis, who, in the year 1757, proceeded to the Greenbriar country, to superintend the survey of a grant of one hundred thousand acres of land, made to a company of individuals by the governor and council of Virginia. On enquiring of these eccentric beings, what could induce them to live separately in a wilderness so distant from all other human beings, they replied, that a difference of opinion had induced them to part, and that, since the division of interests, their intercourse had been more amicable. Sewell added, that each morning, when they arose, Marlin came forth from his house, and himself from the hollow tree, and they saluted each other with “Good morning, Mr. Marlin”—“Good morning, Mr. Sewell;” a practice

which he considered as conclusive evidence of the good understanding and mutual courtesy of the parties. Mr. Sewell, however, was not satisfied even in this agreeable neighbourhood, but removed about forty miles further west, where he was found by the Indians and killed.

Previous to the year 1755, General Lewis had completed the survey of about fifty thousand acres; but, the war then commencing between England and France, the work was abandoned. In 1761, the British government issued a proclamation commanding all the colonists within the bounds of Virginia, who had made settlements on the western waters, to remove from them, as those lands were claimed by the Indians, and good policy required that the government should prevent any interference with their rights. As this is one of a very few instances in which Great Britain even pretended to respect the rights of the aborigines, we must, in searching for the true cause of this order, endeavour to find some other than the one assigned. The prevention of bloodshed had not, heretofore, formed any part of the policy of the mother country, whose plan had rather been to render the colonists more dependent upon herself, by keeping them embroiled with the Indians, and by confining their settlements to the seaboard, where her own power could be most readily concentrated, and most vigorously exerted.

But although this measure of the government checked the spirit of enterprise which had just then been awakened, and caused the abandonment of schemes for the colonisation of the western lands, which had been formed by gentlemen of wealth and education, it did

not entirely crush the newly kindled desire for exploring this delightful region.

There is a tradition that a person, named M'Bride, visited Kentucky, and cut his name on a tree at the mouth of Kentucky river, in 1754. If there is any truth in the rumour, it does not appear that he made any report which was believed, or by which others were induced to follow his adventurous footsteps.

In 1747, Dr. Walker, a gentleman of Virginia, led a small party to explore Powell's valley, east of the Laurel ridge, which he called Cumberland mountain. Receiving intelligence, from some source which is now not known, that the Ohio might be reached, at no great distance, by traveling in a northeastwardly direction, he proceeded on that course until he came to Big Sandy river, having entirely missed the Ohio and the fertile region of Kentucky. He returned home after a journey of prodigious labour, chiefly among the mountains; and his report was rather calculated to repress than to excite curiosity.

In 1750, he crossed the Cumberland mountain, in company with Colby Chew, Ambrose Powell, and others, but did not reach the Kentucky river.

He made several subsequent excursions into this region, and it is probable that to this circumstance may be attributed the mistakes which have been made in reference to the date of his first visit. We adopt that which Mr. Butler, in his recent History of Kentucky, has, upon good evidence, proved to be the correct one.

It appears by a manuscript affidavit of Dr. Walker, which we have examined, that in the month of April

1750, he visited the waters of the Cumberland, and gave its present name to that river. Its original name was Shawanoe, and it is greatly to be deplored that a designation at once euphonous and appropriate, should have been abandoned, without reason, for a foreign appellation.

In Virginia, Lewis Evans made, and published a map of Kentucky, in 1752, from a description given him by the Indians.

In 1766, James Smith visited Kentucky, but we know little of his adventures.

The first adventurer who is known to have penetrated through Kentucky to the Ohio, was John Finley, who, with a few companions, traversed this region in 1767. Of him, or his adventures, little is known. His account of the country—its extent, its fertility, the abundance of game, and the exuberance of the vegetation, were considered fabulous; and his name would probably have been lost, had it not become connected with that of Daniel Boone, to whom he acted as guide in a subsequent expedition.

Boone was a man of strongly marked character. There is no proof that he possessed great talents, or that he could have shone in any other station than that in which he was placed. His bodily vigour, his love of hunting, his courage, and his perfect equanimity of mind under every vicissitude of fortune, were the prominent points in his character; and his singular adventures, with the fact of his being the first successful explorer of this region, have rendered his name celebrated. He was not a misanthrope, who retired to the woods because he was disgusted with

the world, but a man of social and benevolent feelings, of mild and unassuming manners, and of strict integrity. He was bold and daring, deeply imbued with the spirit of adventure, and gifted with an uncommon share of that cool, indomitable courage, which cannot easily be daunted or surprised, that is seldom excited into rashness or chilled into despondency, and that enables its possessor to act with calmness in every emergency.

The character of Boone has been entirely misunderstood, and the inducements which first led him into the wilderness altogether mistaken. We shall not stop here to rebuke the mendacity of sordid writers, who have been tempted by pecuniary considerations, to palm upon the world, under guise of sober biography, a series of spurious adventures, which have composed the story of Boone, and corrupted the history of the times. Such impudent impostures carry within themselves a self destroying influence, which puts an early period to their existence.

The only authentic account of the first visit of Daniel Boone to Kentucky, is found in a pamphlet written by John Filson, from the dictation of Boone himself, in the year 1789. In this he mentions, that, "on the first of May 1769 he left his peaceable habitation on the Yadkin river, in North Carolina," and proceeded to explore the country of Kentucky, in company with John Finley, John Stewart, and three others. Squire Boone, the brother of Daniel, afterwards joined them in the wilderness. We find no record of any particular errand which induced the perilous wanderings of these men, other than that

which allured so many others to this blooming desert; nor is there the slightest reason for setting Boone apart from his companions, as one differing from them in views or character. He was an eccentric man, nor did he stand in a class by himself. His character and adventures are studied and admired, not because he was *sui generis*, but because he was a complete and admirable specimen of the class to which he belonged. A naturalist, in selecting a specimen for preservation in a cabinet, takes that which is most perfect, and least adulterated by any foreign admixture. There were thousands of backwoodsmen, who belonged to the same class with Boone, and resembled him in their lives, tastes, and adventures, and he is only celebrated from the circumstance of his being the best specimen of this singular race, that has happened to attract public attention. The simplicity of his character made him more purely a backwoodsman, than any other man—just as simplicity of character attracts observation to talents or excellence of any kind, by creating a singleness of purpose and effort, which leaves the strong points of the natural mind, unincumbered by the artificial refinements, the distracting passions, and the diversified pursuits, which surround and conceal the native genius of most individuals.

Boone and his companions were inflamed with curiosity, by the accounts which they had heard of the surpassing beauty and fertility of Kentucky; and this, which was certainly a sufficient inducement to men of erratic habits, and courageous temperament, might have been the only motive for their journey. But there is some reason to believe that even in his first

visit to Kentucky, Boone came as the agent of some wealthy individuals in North Carolina, who were desirous to speculate in these lands, and who selected him to make the first reconnoissance of the country, not only because he was an intrepid hunter, but in consideration of his judgment and probity. It is certain that he was thus employed immediately after his return, and that he continued for many years to be engaged in the transaction of business for others, to the entire neglect of his personal aggrandisement.

Be this as it may, the adventures of these bold explorers are full of romantic interest. They found the land filled with hostile Indians, against whose arts they were obliged to keep a continual watch. By day they wandered with stealthy steps, adding to their boldness of purpose, the vigilance that ensures success, and at night they crept into the most secret coverts for repose; practising the arts of savage life for subsistence, and the stratagems of border warfare for protection. Superior to the red men in the devices of their own sylvan strategy, they eluded, or beat them, and continued to roam through these blooming deserts, if not with impunity, at least with a degree of success that seems marvellous.

Boone continued to explore the wilderness for two years, with no little variety of fortune, but with that indomitable perseverance which formed a leading trait in his character. Once, himself and a companion were captured, and escaped; more than once their camp was plundered; they were robbed of their arms and ammunition, and left to glean a subsistence as they might, without the weapons which in the back-

woods are necessaries, equally requisite in defending life, and procuring food. One of the party was killed, the rest returned home, except Boone, and his brother, the latter of whom having arrived since the disarming of the party, was able to supply the pioneer with a gun and ammunition. They wintered together in a cabin formed of poles and bark. In the spring of 1770, the brother returned to North Carolina, leaving Daniel Boone alone in the woods, the only white man known to be in Kentucky.

If any proof was wanting, of the ardour with which Boone pursued his designs, or the courage that he imparted to others, it would be found in this separation of the brothers; the one singly undertaking a painful and dangerous journey, of several hundred miles, without a path or a guide, the other remaining alone in the midst of a wilderness, separated from the habitations of white men by a range of almost inaccessible mountains, and surrounded by thousands of enemies, who eagerly sought his life, and daily traced his footsteps with unwearied hostility. The intrepid pioneer continued to rove through the forest, subsisting upon game, and eluding the Indians by cunning devices, until the return of his brother, in the July of the same year; they explored the country together during the remainder of that year, again wintered in the wilderness, and in the spring of 1771 returned to their families.

In 1769 Hancock Taylor, Richard Taylor, and others, descended the Ohio to the falls, and proceeded thence to New Orleans, and back to Virginia by sea.

About the same time a party, consisting of about

forty hunters, from New River, Holston, and Clinch, united in an expedition to the west, and nine of the party, led by Col. James Knox, reached Kentucky. They penetrated to the waters of Green River, and the lower part of Cumberland.

In the year 1773, Thomas Bullit, Hancock Taylor, and the M'Afees, engaged with ardour and success in the business of exploring and settling Kentucky, and became conspicuous individuals in the new community.

CHAPTER II.

Purchases from the Indians—Treaty of Fort Stanwix—Treaty of Lochaber—Purchases by individuals—The Transylvania Company.

In the year 1774 commenced a series of events which exerted a decided influence on the early growth of the settlements in Kentucky, but which, in most of the published narratives of the histories of those times, are not mentioned, and in others, barely alluded to. As these facts will be new to the public, and as the writer has had the opportunity of investigating them carefully, from the original papers of the gentlemen concerned, placed in his hands through a source of unquestionable respectability, this fragment of the history of the pioneers will be developed with some degree of minuteness.

A few preliminary observations, however, may be necessary to elucidate this subject with greater clearness. The several explorations of the country bordering on the Ohio, to which we have alluded,—although they did not elicit any great amount of accurate information, either in respect to its extent or advantages,—threw into circulation a mass of reports which strongly excited the public mind, and induced the functionaries, of Great Britain and of the colonies, as well as a number of intelligent individuals, to turn their attention to this region. In 1768, at a treaty held with the Six

Nations by Sir William Johnson, the claim of those nations to all the lands on the southeast side of the Ohio river, as far down as the Cherokee river, and on the northwest side to the Great Miami, was purchased by Great Britain. The title of the Six Nations, to any part of this country, seems to have been extremely problematical. We are not aware of any that a savage people could have, but that of actual occupancy; and there is no proof of their having ever resided in any part of it, or that their conquests were at any time extended into the Mississippi valley. It is probable that Great Britain did not investigate that matter with critical nicety, but rather pursued the policy, since adopted by the United States, of purchasing the conflicting Indian titles, and of making her own claim secure, by merging in it all others. Nor was this purchase made for the purpose of facilitating the settlement of the west, which the parent country always discouraged; but to secure the possession to herself of the interior frontier, and prevent the founding of colonies, in juxta-position with her own, by any other nation.

It was in accordance with these views that Great Britain authorised the treaty of 1768, during the existence of an order in council which prohibited the settlement of the western lands; and that, in 1770, Lord Botetourte, at the urgent instance of the general assembly of Virginia, made arrangements for the extinguishment of the title of the Cherokees to the same territory. On the fifth of October of that year, a treaty was accordingly held with those Indians, at Lochaber, in South Carolina, by John Stewart, super-

intendent of Indian affairs, acting under the auspices of the colony of Virginia, when a boundary line was established between the contracting parties, "beginning at Holstein river, six miles above Big Island, thence running in a direct line till it should strike the mouth of the Great Kenhawa." John Donaldson, the surveyor who traced this line by an appointment from the president and council of Virginia, states, in a manuscript affidavit which we have seen, "that, in the progress of the work, they came to the head of Louisa, now Kentucky river, when the Little Carpenter (a Cherokee chief) observed, that his nation delighted in having their lands marked out by natural boundaries; and proposed that, instead of the line agreed upon at Lochaber as aforesaid, it should break off at the head of Louisa river, and run thence to the mouth thereof, and thence up the Ohio to the mouth of the Great Kenhawa." This boundary was accordingly agreed to by the surveyor. It is further stated, by the same authority, "that leave having been granted, by the king of Great Britain, to treat with the Cherokees for a more extensive boundary than that which had been established at the treaty of Hard Labour, provided the Virginians would be at the expense of purchasing the same, the general assembly voted the sum of £2500 sterling for that purpose, which sum was accordingly paid to the Cherokees," in consideration, as we presume, of the additional lands gained by the alteration of the line by the surveyor, and in confirmation of his act.

These proceedings are only important now, as they show that, by the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Loch-

aber, the conflicting Indian titles were extinguished, south of the Ohio river, as far west as the Kentucky river.

About this period, a number of enterprising gentlemen in Virginia and North Carolina began to turn their attention to the region west of the Kentucky river, with the view of purchasing estates in fee simple, for themselves, directly from the Indians.

We have before us a deposition, in manuscript, of the celebrated Patrick Henry, in which he states, that, early in the year 1774, he entered into an arrangement with the Hon. William Byrd, John Page, Esq., and Col. William Christian, all of Virginia, for the purpose of purchasing, from the Cherokees, "some of their land on the waters of their own river in Virginia," and that they sent a Mr. Kennedy to the Cherokee nation, to ascertain the practicability of the scheme. The report of the agent was, that they were willing to treat on the subject. "Not long after this," says the document in our possession, "and before any treaty was resolved on, the troubles with Great Britain seemed to threaten serious consequences; and this deponent became a member of the first Virginia convention, and a member of the first continental congress, upon which he determined with himself to disclaim all concern and connection with Indian purchases, for the reasons following: that is to say, he was informed, shortly after his arrival in congress, of many purchases of Indian lands, shares in most or all of which were offered to this deponent, and constantly refused by him, because of the enormity of the extent to which the bounds of those purchases were carried; that dis-

putes had arisen on the subject of these purchases, and that this deponent, being a member of congress and convention, conceived it improper for him to be concerned as a party in any of these partnerships, on which it was probable he might decide as a judge. He was farther fixed in his determination not to be concerned in any Indian purchases whatever, on the prospect of the present war, by which the sovereignty and right of disposal of the soil of America would probably be claimed by the American states." This deposition is dated June 4, 1777.

Of the purchases alluded to in the above deposition, the most extensive, and the most important in its bearing upon the history of the pioneers, is that of the Transylvania company, composed of Richard Henderson, William Johnston, Nathaniel Hart, John Luttrell, David Hart, John Williams, James Hogg, and Leonard Henley Bullock. These gentlemen, who were residents of North Carolina, made certain preliminary arrangements, in the fall of the year 1774, with the "Overhill Cherokee Indians," for a treaty to be held the following year. In March, 1775, Colonel Henderson, acting for the company, met the chiefs of that nation, attended by about twelve hundred of their people, at a fort on the Watauga, the southeastern branch of the Holston river. A solemn council was held, and after several days spent in conference and full discussion of every matter relating to the purchase, the company obtained from the Indians, in exchange for a valuable consideration paid them in merchandise, two several deeds, signed by Okonistoto, their chief warrior, and by Atakullakulla and Savonooko, the next

in rank, in behalf of the nation, and with the assent of the warriors present. The two grants comprehended separate tracts, lying within the chartered limits of Virginia and North Carolina. The first was bounded as follows: "Beginning on the Ohio river, at the mouth of the Cantuckey Chenoe, or what, by the English, is called Louisa river; from thence running up the said river, and the most northwardly fork of the same, to the head spring thereof; thence a south-east course, to the top of the ridge of Powell's mountain; thence westwardly along the ridge of the said mountain, unto a point from which a northwest course will hit or strike the head spring of the most southwardly branch of Cumberland river; thence down the said river, including all its waters, to the Ohio river, and up the said river, as it meanders, to the beginning."

The other deed comprised a tract "beginning on the Holston river, where the course of Powell's mountain strikes the same; thence up the said river, as it meanders, to where the Virginia line crosses the same; thence westward along the line run by Donaldson, to a point six English miles eastward of the long island in said Holston river; thence a direct course towards the mouth of the Great Canaway, until it reaches the top ridge of Powell's mountain; thence westward along the said ridge to the place of beginning."

The first of these grants, it will be perceived, is much the largest, and comprises the whole of Kentucky south of the river of that name, and by far the greater part of the lands now contained in that state. The other includes a vast territory within the then

limits of North Carolina, lying on the rivers Holston, Clinch, Powel, and Cumberland, to the amount of many millions of acres.

This purchase from the aborigines having been made previous to the declaration of independence, and the Transylvania company being put in possession of the territory by the Indians, the title of the grantees was supposed to be complete, and they proceeded immediately to make extensive arrangements for the settlement of their lands. Richard Henderson, Nathaniel Hart, and John Luttrell, were appointed to proceed to the new territory, which was called Transylvania, for the purpose of planting a colony; and they accordingly set out, at the head of a small party, early in the year 1775. Daniel Boone was their guide; and it seems to be extremely probable, though we have no direct evidence of the fact, that his previous visits to Kentucky were made at the suggestion of these gentlemen, and that their confidence in his report induced them to make the purchase. It is certain, from their letters to each other—many of which are in the possession of the writer—that they had obtained, from some source, a mass of accurate information with which the public was not acquainted; and, as they would naturally resort to some confidential and secret means through which to obtain such intelligence, we give credit to a rumour which has reached us, that Boone was the agent employed for that purpose. These circumstances afford a new elucidation of the character of that intrepid pioneer; and, although they take nothing from the strong points of his character, entirely dissipate the romantic theories of some of his

biographers, with regard to the motives which first led him to become a wanderer in the western wilderness.

Colonel Henderson and his associates reached Powell's Valley, one of the most western settlements of North Carolina, in the beginning of April 1775, at the head of forty armed men, and an additional number, probably, of non-combatants—for they had under their charge forty pack-horses. This party was preceded by a smaller one, under the direction of Daniel Boone, who had been employed to mark out a road. We have before us a letter from Colonel Henderson, to his partners in North Carolina, dated Powell's Valley, April 8, 1775, from which we make the following extracts, for the purpose of illustrating the difficulties encountered in this expedition, in the language of one who was concerned.

“ Few enterprises of great consequence continue at all times to wear a favourable aspect ; ours has met with the common fate, from the incautious proceedings of a few headstrong and unthinking people. On the twenty fifth of March last, the Indians fired upon a small party of men, in camp, near the Louisa, killed two and put four others to the rout ; and on the 27th did likewise on Daniel Boone's camp, and killed a white man and a negro on the spot, but the survivors maintained their ground and saved their baggage. But for a more particular account I refer you to Mr. Boone's original letter on that occasion, which came to hand last night. You scarcely need information that these accidents have a bad effect with respect to us.” * * * * “ You observe from

Mr. Boone's letter the absolute necessity of our not losing one moment, therefore don't be surprised at not receiving a particular account of our journey with the several little misfortunes and cross accidents, which have caused us to be delayed so that we are still one hundred and thirty or one hundred and forty miles from our journey's end. We are all in high spirits, and on thorns to fly to Boone's assistance, and join him in defence of so fine and valuable a country. My only motives for stopping are, first, that you should receive a just representation of the affair, and secondly, to request your immediate assistance; for want of workmen our wagons are laid aside at Captain Martin's in this valley, the chief of our salt and all our saltpetre and brimstone are left behind."

The letter from Daniel Boone, alluded to above, is also in our possession, and we copy it entire, as a valuable relic of that bold and successful pioneer—premising, that as Mr. Boone was less expert in the art of spelling than in the use of the rifle, we correct the orthography, except in the case of one or two words. The letter is addressed to "Colonel Richard Henderson—these with care," and runs as follows:

" April the first 1775.

" Dear Colonel,

After my compliments to you, I shall acquaint you of our misfortune. On march the 25 a party of Indians fired on my company about a half an hour before day, and killed Mr. Twitty and his negro, and wounded Mr. Walker very deeply, but I hope he will recover. On March the 28 as we were hunting for

provisions we found Samuel Tate's son, who gave us an account that the Indians fired on their camp on the 27 day. My brother and I went down and found two men killed and scalped, Thomas McDowell and Jeremiah McPeters. I have sent a man down to all the lower companies in order to gather them all to the mouth of Otter Creek. My advise to you, sir, is to come or send as soon as possible. Your company is desired greatly, for the people are very uneasy, but are willing to stay and venture their lives with you, and now is the time to flusterate their* intentions and keep the country, whilst we are in it. If we give way to them now, it will ever be the case. This day we start from the battle ground, for the mouth of Otter Creek, where we shall immediately erect a fort, which will be done before you can come or send—then we can send ten men to meet you, if you send for them.

I am sir your most obedient
Daniel Boone.

N. B.—We stood on the ground and guarded our baggage till day, and lost nothing. We have about fifteen miles to Cantuck at Otter Creek.”

This letter, with which we have taken no liberty except the one already indicated, is highly characteristic of the writer. It is a plain and sensible communication, from a cool headed man, who uses no more words than are necessary to express his ideas. He takes no credit to himself for having beaten the Indians, nor makes any professions for the future, but modestly intimates that the presence of the leader of the enter-

* Meaning the Indians.

prise is necessary, to ensure its success. The suggestion "now is the time to *frustrate*" the intentions of the savages, "and keep the country while we are in it," is consistent with the known determination of his character; while the prediction, "if we give way to them now, it will ever be the case," comports well with the prudence and common sense which always governed him, when acting in his proper sphere, as a hunter, or a warrior. We are even pleased with the commencement—"after my compliments"—and the conclusion,—“I am Sir, your most obedient”—which show that the sturdy woodsman, was not unacquainted with courtesies of good society. We shall only add, that the word *Cantuck*, refers to Kentucky river, and that the fort which he proposed to erect, was that which was afterwards called Boonsboro.

The prospects of Colonel Henderson's party became still more gloomy, after the date of this letter to which we have referred. As they proceeded they met persons returning from Kentucky, discontented or panic-struck, who gave the most exaggerated accounts of the dangers from which they had escaped, and represented the situation of Boone, as being imminently precarious. The hired men became discouraged, and it required all the efforts of the leaders, to urge them forward. Every sound they heard, every groupe of wayworn woodsmen which they met, filled them with the apprehension that Boone had been obliged to abandon his post, or that the approaching travellers brought some disastrous tidings of the pioneer. "It was owing to Boone's confidence in us," says Colonel Henderson in one of his letters, "and to the people's in

him, that a stand was ever attempted, to await our coming ;” and it was natural that great uneasiness should be felt for him, in whom such confidence was placed, and whose post, in advance of the expedition, was so important. It became, therefore, desirable that he should be apprised of the approach of his friends, in order that he might be encouraged to hold his post at all hazards until their arrival. But how could the information be transmitted—what messenger would venture to traverse the wild, beset with Indians, and incur the various dangers of a solitary journey, of one hundred and thirty miles, the distance which still intervened, between the travellers and the end of their journey ! Mr. William Cocke, observing the anxiety of his companions, generously volunteered to undertake the perilous mission, and the offer was too gratifying to be refused. The day was dark and rainy, the gloominess of the weather depressed the spirits of the party, and the parting of Mr. Cocke and his friends was marked by inauspicious forebodings. He was “fixed off,” to use again the language of one of the party, “with a good Queen Anne’s musket, plenty of ammunition, a Tomhock, a large Cuttloe knife, a Dutch blanket, and no small quantity of jerked beef.” Thus equipped, and mounted on a good horse, he quitted his companions, and dashed into the forest. We shall only add that he performed his mission in safety and with success.

Colonel Henderson reached Boonsboro, with his party, a few days afterwards, and found the people there in a state of careless security, which evinced the most perfect self confidence. A small fort, which

the labour or two or three days would have rendered a sufficient protection against any sudden inroad of the Indians, had been suffered to remain unfinished and wholly useless, and it was not until this little colony had suffered severely from their indiscretion, that Fort Boonsboro was placed in a defensible condition.

“We are now seated,” says Colonel Henderson, in one of his letters, “at the mouth of Otter Creek, on the Kentucky, about 150 miles from the Ohio. To the west, about 50 miles from us, are two settlements, within six or seven miles of each other. There were some time ago about a hundred persons at the two places, though now perhaps there are not more than sixty or seventy, as many of them are gone up the Ohio for their families, &c., and some have returned by the way we came, to Virginia and elsewhere. These men in the course of hunting provisions, exploring lands, &c., are some of them constantly out, and scour the woods from the banks of the river, near forty or fifty miles southward. On the opposite side of the river, and north from us about 40 miles, is a settlement on the crown lands of about nineteen persons, and lower down towards the Ohio, on the same side, there are some other settlers;—how many, or at what place, I can’t exactly learn.” “Colonel Harrod, who governs the two first mentioned settlements,—and is a very good man, Colonel Floyd, the surveyor and myself, are under solemn engagements to communicate with the utmost despatch, every piece of intelligence, respecting danger, or sign of Indians, to each other. In case of invasion of either, both the

other parties are instantly to march, and relieve the distressed if possible. Add to this, that our country is so fertile, the growth of grass and herbage so tender and luxuriant, that it is almost impossible for man or dog to travel, without leaving such a sign, that you might gallop a horse on the trail. It is impossible for any number of persons to pass through the woods without being tracked, and of course discovered if Indians, for our hunters all go on horseback, and could not be deceived, if they were to come on the trace of footmen. From these circumstances I think myself secure against any formidable attack, &c.”

Among the original letters in our possession, is one from Colonel John Williams, dated at Boonsboro, 27th December 1775, from which we extract the following incident. “ Last Saturday, in the afternoon, Colonel Campbell, with two lads, went over the river, where they parted, and went different ways over the hill. About 300 yards from the fort, Colonel Campbell was fired on by a couple of Indians, who missed him. The gun was heard, the alarm given, and we got him safe to the fort. The two lads not returning that night, and having no guns with them, we had doubtful apprehensions, and not hearing any thing of them until Monday, we despatched a party of men to see if they could make any discovery,—as we had done on Saturday after Campbell returned. They found one killed and scalped about three miles from town, the other we have yet heard nothing of, but suppose he has shared the same fate. We had at that time a dozen or fifteen men over the river, hunting in separate parties, though they have since all returned except

two. Whether they have been unsuccessful in their hunt, or have fallen into the hands of the enemy, is doubtful—the latter is apprehended. We yesterday despatched a party of twenty men under the command of Jesse Benton to scour the woods, and discover if possible whether they are satisfied with what they have done, or whether they are lurking about to do more mischief before they go. So far, this is a bad story, but hear the circumstances, and it will appear less unfavourable. Last October, at the treaty at Pittsburg, Cornstalk, king of the Shawnees, said that before application from the congress for a treaty, five or six of his men had set out for Kentucky, and he was apprehensive might do some damage, and that it was out of his power to apprise them of the terms of the treaty, as he did not know where to send a messenger to them; but that he would stop them for the future, and if any of his men got killed on that expedition it should give no umbrage. There was about that number of Indians seen near the war path about fifteen miles east of this place, two or three days before the mischief was done, all which we knew nothing of until since, &c.”

While the Transylvania company was employed in the fruitless attempt to establish a proprietary government in Kentucky, a number of individuals were engaged, either singly or in companies, in exploring the same territory, as well as the adjacent lands north of the Kentucky river, and in settling such spots as they chose to occupy, without any reference to the claim of Henderson and his partners. Monopolies are never popular, and in our country none are less ac-

ceptable than those which refer to real estate. Having never been accustomed to the existence among us of a privileged class, we do not readily submit to any measure, the tendency of which is to confer exclusive advantages upon a few individuals. Our sympathies are with the majority, and our judgments predisposed in favour of that which confers the greatest benefit on the largest number of citizens. Our notions with regard to land are perhaps peculiar to our country ; but they are natural and obviously just. The opinion is as old as the states, that the soil is common property held for the public good, and that individuals should not be permitted to appropriate to themselves more than they can use ; with the exception only in favour of those, who accumulate large landed estates by successful industry, or purchase them in good faith, for valuable considerations. A grant therefore of enormous magnitude, either by the aborigines or the government, to a few gentlemen, for a consideration which, though technically valuable, was in fact inconsiderable, could not be otherwise than odious.

The Indian title has never been clearly defined, nor held in much esteem. Not having themselves very clear ideas of property, the savages could hardly impress others with distinct notions of the rights which they held by a tenure so vague—which they bartered away with careless prodigality, and claimed to resume upon the slightest pretext. Among them the soil had never been reduced to individual property ; there was no title by allodium, or simple fee, and nothing that could be transferred to individuals. Their right was that of sovereignty, their possession that of

the whole tribe, and the only cession they could make was such as by common usage is allowable alone between sovereigns, or established governments. Such was the decision of Virginia at first, and of congress afterwards, upon the purchase of Henderson and company ; and such seems to have been the common sense opinion formed by the adventurers who settled within the boundaries claimed by those gentlemen, in disregard of the treaty of the latter with the Cherokees.

Nor was the time propitious to the design of those enterprising individuals. The revolutionary war had commenced, and with it the doubt and misrule incident to such a crisis. The adventurer to the wilds of Kentucky must have possessed a prophetic spirit, as well as a more than ordinary knowledge, political and legal, to have been able to decide between the proprietary rights of the Cherokees, and the six nations, the Transylvania company, and the state of Virginia, the congress, and the crown of Great Britain ; and to select from so great a number, the lord paramount under whom it would be most safe to hold. The obvious consequence was, that the Virginians who emigrated took out titles under their own state, the North Carolinians who came at the invitation of Henderson and company purchased from them, while a large class took possession of such tracts as suited them, determined to hold them against all adverse claimants, and to perfect their titles under the authority which should ultimately prove successful.

This then was the first of the numerous party divisions, by which the peace of Kentucky has been dis-

turbed, and her prosperity impeded; and the early introduction of factional discussions may be regarded as having been not a little ominous of the future history of the state. Although little has been published in reference to those early differences, we find, from the documents in our possession, that there was in fact much angry controversy, between the parties who respectively admitted or denied the validity of the cession to Henderson and company, and we believe that the germ of much subsequent dissension was unhappily planted at that time. But it is gratifying to observe, that however they might differ on that subject, they were always firmly united in the bond of patriotism, and acted with uniform vigour and harmony in repelling the inroads of the savages, and in resisting the tyranny of Great Britain. The best interests of Kentucky have been continually jeopardized by her intestine quarrels, but she has never for a moment swerved from her fidelity to the Union, of which she is one of the brightest ornaments. The foundations of national, as well as of individual character, are early laid; and in the first settlement of all our American states, we find some indications of the character by which they have become distinguished. In the state of Kentucky, the evidences of this truth stand out in bold relief, in the original and strongly marked character of the inhabitants, among whom the daring, the hardihood, and the generosity of the pioneer, with the independence of thought peculiar to the revolutionary period at which their institutions began to be planted, remain conspicuously impressed upon the whole mass of the native population.

CHAPTER III.

A proprietary government established—First meeting of a convention of delegates—Their proceedings.

The proprietors of Transylvania, as they supposed themselves to be, having led a gallant band of adventurers to the vast but blooming desert which they had purchased, and erected a few forts, at the several points where settlements were intended to be formed, proceeded at once to the formation of a colonial government, as well for the purpose of asserting thus early their rights of propriety and sovereignty, as for the establishment of social and civil order. As this is a curious and important event in the history of Kentucky, and as it cannot be related in more suitable language than that of the persons engaged in it, we shall transcribe the record, from the original papers in our possession. It is in the following words :

“A Journal of the proceedings of the house of delegates or representatives of the colony of Transylvania, begun on Wednesday the 23rd of May in the year of our Lord Christ, 1775, and in the fifteenth year of the reign of his majesty, king of Great Britain.

The proprietors of said colony having called and required an election of delegates or representatives to be made for the purpose of legislation, or making and ordaining laws and regulations for the future conduct of the inhabitants thereof, that is to say, for the town

of Boonesboro six members, for Harrodsburgh four, for the Boiling Spring settlement four, for the town of St. Asaph four, and appointed their meeting for the purpose aforesaid, on the aforesaid 23rd of May, Anno Dom. 1775, and :

It being certified to us here this day by the Secretary,* that the following persons were returned as duly elected for the several towns and settlements, to wit :

For Boonesboro—Squire Boone, Daniel Boone, William Cocke, Samuel Henderson, William Moore, and Richard Calloway.

For Harrodsburgh—Thomas Slaughter, John Lythe, Valentine Harmon, and James Douglass.

For Boiling Spring settlement—James Harrod, Nathan Hammond, Isaac and Azariah Davis.

For the town of St. Asaph—John Todd, Alexander Spotswood Dandridge, John Floyd, and Samuel Wood ;

Present—Squire Boone, Daniel Boone, &c.," (repeating all the above names,) who took their seats at convention :

The house unanimously chose Colonel Thomas Slaughter chairman, and Matthew Jewett clerk ; and after divine service was performed by the Rev. John Lythe, the house waited on the proprietors, and acquainted them that they had chosen Mr. Thomas Slaughter chairman, and Matthew Jewett clerk, of which they approved ; and Colonel Richard Henderson in behalf of himself, and the rest of the proprietors,

* An officer appointed by the proprietors, corresponding with a secretary of state.

opened the convention with a speech, a copy of which, to prevent mistakes, the chairman procured.

Ordered, the same speech be read—Read the same which is as follows :

[We omit the speech, the answer of the convention, and the replication of Colonel Henderson, which are too long to be inserted in this place.]

On motion made, ordered, that Mr. Todd have leave to bring in a bill for the establishment of courts of judicature, and regulating the practice therein ; ordered, that Mr. Todd, Mr. Dandridge, Mr. Calloway, and Mr. Henderson, do bring in a bill for that purpose.

On motion of Mr. Douglass, leave is given to bring in a bill for regulating a militia ; ordered, that Mr. Floyd, Mr. Harrod, Mr. Cocke, Mr. Douglass, and Mr. Hite, be a committee for that purpose.

On motion of Mr. Daniel Boone, leave is given to bring in a bill for preserving game, &c. ; ordered, that Mr. Boone, Mr. Davis, Mr. Harmon, Mr. Hammond, and Mr. Moore, be a committee for that purpose.

The bill for establishing courts of judicature, and regulating the practice therein, brought in by the committee, and read by Mr. Todd—passed the first time—ordered to be referred for a second reading.

The bill for establishing and regulating a militia, brought in by the committee, read by Mr. Floyd—ordered to be read by the clerk—passed the first time—ordered to be referred for a second reading.

The bill for preserving game, brought in by the committee, ordered to be read by the clerk—read, and passed the first time—ordered to be referred for a second reading.

Ordered, that the convention be adjourned until to-morrow, six o'clock.

26th May. Met according to adjournment.

Mr. Robert Mc Afee appointed sergeant at arms.

Ordered, that the sergeant at arms bring John Guess before this convention, to answer for an insult offered Colonel Richard Calloway.

The bill for regulating a militia, read the second time, and ordered to be engrossed.

The bill for establishing courts of judicature, and regulating the practice therein, read a second time—ordered to be recommitted, and that Mr. Dandridge, Mr. Todd, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Calloway, be a committee to take it into consideration.

On motion of Mr. Todd, leave is given to bring in an attachment bill—ordered, that Mr. Todd, Mr. Dandridge, and Mr. Douglass, be a committee for that purpose.

The bill for establishing writs of attachment, read by the clerk, and passed the first time—ordered to be referred for a second reading.

On motion of Mr. Dandridge, leave is given to bring in a bill to ascertain clerks' and sheriffs' fees.

The said bill was read, and passed the first time—ordered to be referred for the second reading.

On motion made by Mr. Todd, ordered, that Mr. Todd, Mr. Lythe, Mr. Douglass, and Mr. Hite, be a committee to draw up a compact between the proprietors and the people of this colony.

On motion of Mr. Lythe, leave is given to bring in a bill to prevent profane swearing and Sabbath breaking—The same read by the clerk, ordered, that it be

recommitted, and that Mr. Lythe, Mr. Todd, and Mr. Harrod, be a committee to make amendments.

Mr. Guess was brought before the convention, and reprimanded by the chairman.

Ordered, that Mr. Todd and Mr. Harrod wait on the proprietors, to know what name for this colony would be agreeable. Mr. Todd and Mr. Harrod reported, that it was their pleasure that it should be called *Transylvania*.

The bill for ascertaining clerks' and sheriffs' fees, read a second time, passed—and ordered to be engrossed.

The attachment bill read a second time, and ordered to be engrossed.

A bill for preserving game, read the second time, and passed—ordered to be recommitted, and that Mr. Todd, Mr. Boone, and Mr. Harrod, be a committee to take it into consideration.

The militia bill read a third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. Todd, leave is given to bring in a bill for the punishment of criminals—ordered, that Mr. Todd, Mr. Dandridge, and Mr. Lythe, be a committee for that purpose.

The bill for establishing courts of judicature, and regulating the practice therein, read a second time, and ordered to be engrossed.

On motion of Mr. Boone, leave is given to bring in a bill for improving the breed of horses. Ordered, that Mr. Boone, Mr. Davis, and Mr. Hammond, bring in a bill for that purpose.

The bill for ascertaining clerks' and sheriffs' fees, read a third time, and passed.

The bill for establishing writs of attachment, read a third time, and passed.

On motion, ordered, that Mr. Todd have leave to absent himself from this house.

The bill for the punishment of criminals, brought in by the committee, read by the clerk, passed the first time, and ordered to be read a second time.

The bill for establishing courts of judicature, and regulating the practice therein, read the third time with amendments, and passed.

The bill for improving the breed of horses, brought in by Capt. Boone, read the first time, passed, and ordered to be for consideration, &c.

Ordered, that the convention adjourn until to-morrow, six o'clock.

Met according to adjournment.

The bill to prevent profane swearing and Sabbath-breaking, read the second time, with amendments; ordered to be engrossed.

The bill for the punishment of criminals, brought in and read, passed the second time; ordered to be engrossed.

The bill for the improvement of the breed of horses was read a second time, and ordered to be engrossed.

Ordered, that Mr. Harrod, Mr. Boone, and Mr. Cocke, wait on the proprietors, and beg they will not indulge any person whatever in granting them lands on the present terms, unless they comply with the former proposals of settling the country, &c.

On motion of Squire Boone, leave is given to bring in a bill to preserve the range; ordered, that he have leave to bring in a bill for that purpose.

The following message was received from the proprietors, to wit :

To give every possible satisfaction to the good people, your constituents, we desire to exhibit our title deed from the aborigines and first owners of the soil in Transylvania, and hope you will cause an entry to be made of the exhibition in your journals, including the corners and abutments of the lands or country contained therein, so that the boundaries of our colony may be known and kept on record.

RICHARD HENDERSON.

Transylvania, 27th May, 1775.

Ordered, that Mr. Todd, Mr. Douglass, and Mr. Hite, inform the proprietors that their request will be complied with ; in consequence of which Colonel Henderson personally attended the convention with Mr. John Farrow, attorney in fact for the head warriors or chiefs of the Cherokee Indians, who, in presence of the convention, made livery and seisin of all the lands in a deed or feofment then produced, bearing date the 7th day of March last, 1775. [We omit the boundaries which are here set forth on the record, having already given them to our readers in another place.]

A bill for preserving the range, brought in by the committee and read, passed the first time ; ordered to be laid by for second consideration.

The bill to prevent profane swearing and Sabbath-breaking, read the third time, and passed.

Ordered, that Mr. Calloway and Mr. Cocke wait on

the proprietors with the laws that have passed, for their perusal and approbation.

The committee, appointed to draw up the compact between the proprietors and the people, brought in and read it, as follows, viz :

Whereas, it is highly necessary, for the peace of the proprietors and the security of the people of this colony, that the powers of the one and the liberties of the other be ascertained ; We, Richard Henderson, Nathaniel Hart, and J. Luttrell, on behalf of ourselves, as well as the other proprietors of the colony of Transylvania, of the one part—and the representatives of the people of said colony, in convention assembled, of the other part—do most solemnly enter into the following contract or agreement, to wit :

1. That the election of delegates in this colony be annual.

2. That the convention may adjourn, and meet again on their own adjournment ; Provided, that in cases of great emergency, the proprietors may call together the delegates before the time adjourned to ; and, if a majority do not attend, they may dissolve them and call a new one.

3. That, to prevent dissention and delay of business, one proprietor shall act for the whole, or some one delegated by them for that purpose, who shall always reside in the colony.

4. That there be perfect religious freedom and general toleration ; Provided, that the propagators of any doctrine or tenets, evidently tending to the subversion of our laws, shall, for such conduct, be amenable to, and punished by, the civil courts.

5. That the judges of the superior or supreme courts be appointed by the proprietors, but be supported by the people, and to them be answerable for their malconduct.

6. That the quit-rents never exceed two shillings sterling per hundred acres.

7. That the proprietors appoint a sheriff, who shall be one of three persons recommended by the court.

8. That the judges of the superior courts have, without fee or reward, the appointment of the clerks of this colony.

9. That the judges of the inferior courts be recommended by the people, and approved by the proprietors, and by them commissioned.

10. That all other civil and military officers be within the appointment of the proprietors.

11. That the office of surveyor-general belong to no person interested, or a partner in this purchase.

12. That the legislative authority, after the strength and maturity of the colony will permit, consist of three branches, to wit: the delegates or representatives chosen by the people; a council, not exceeding twelve men, possessed of landed estate, who reside in the colony, and the proprietors.

13. That nothing with respect to the number of delegates from any town or settlement shall hereafter be drawn into precedent, but that the number of representatives shall be ascertained by law, when the state of the colony will admit of amendment.

14. That the land office be always open.

15. That commissions, without profit, be granted without fee.

16. That the fees and salaries of all officers appointed by the proprietors, be settled and regulated by the laws of the country.

17. That the convention have the sole power of raising and appropriating all public moneys, and electing their treasurer.

18. That, for a short time, till the state of the colony will permit to fix some place of holding the convention which shall be permanent, the place of meeting shall be agreed upon between the proprietors and the convention.

To the faithful, and religious, and perpetual observance of all and every of the above articles, the said proprietors, on behalf of themselves as well as those absent, and the chairman of the convention on behalf of them and their constituents, have hereunto interchangeably set their hands and affixed their seals, the twenty-seventh day of May, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six.

RICHARD HENDERSON. [Seal.]

NATHANIEL HART. [Seal.]

J. LUTTREL. [Seal.]

T. SLAUGHTER, Chair'n. [Seal.]

A bill for improving the breed of horses, read the third time and passed.

The bill for the punishment of criminals, read the third time and passed.

The bill to preserve the range, read the second time, and ordered to be engrossed.

Ordered that Mr. Lythe wait on Colonel Henderson and the rest of the proprietors, with the bill for esta-

blishing courts of justice and regulating the practice therein.

The bill to preserve the range read the third time and passed.

Ordered, that Colonel Calloway wait on the proprietors with the bill for preserving the range.

Ordered, that a fair copy of the several bills, passed into laws, be transmitted to every settlement in this colony that is represented.

Ordered, that the delegates of Boonesboro be a committee to see that all the bills that are passed be transcribed, in a fair hand, into a book for that purpose.

Ordered, that the proprietors be waited on by the chairman, acquainting them that all the bills are ready for signing.

The following bills this day passed and signed by the proprietors, on behalf of themselves and their partners, and the chairman of the convention, on behalf of himself and the other delegates :

1. An act for establishing courts of jurisdiction and regulating the practice therein.
2. An act for regulating a militia.
3. An act for the punishment of criminals.
4. An act to prevent profane swearing, and Sabbath breaking.
5. An act for writs of attachment.
6. An act for ascertaining clerks' and sheriffs' fees.
7. An act to preserve the range.
8. An act for improving the breed of horses.
9. An act for preserving game.

All the above mentioned acts were signed by the chairman and proprietors, except the act for ascertain-

ing clerks' and sheriffs' fees, which was omitted by the clerks not giving it in with the rest.

Ordered, that at the next meeting of delegates, if any member be absent and doth not attend, that the people choose one to serve in the room of such absent member.

Ordered, that the convention be adjourned until the first Thursday in September next, then to meet at Boonesboro.

MATTHEW JEWITT, Clerk.

We present this as a creditable specimen of the intelligence and disposition of the pioneers; affording as it does, the most ample testimony, that they were not a band of mere lawless adventurers, unable to appreciate the advantages of social order, and eager to escape the restraints of civil subordination. We see here the same hardy men, who with infinite peril and fatigue had conquered for themselves a resting place in the wilderness, assembling in a rude forest fortress, to commence the structure of their social compact. With no precedents before them, with neither laws nor lawyers, instructed only by their own perceptions of right and wrong, and their recollections of the laws under which they had lived, they enact a simple code whose provisions evince a clear understanding of the elementary principles of free government, while its brevity shows the confidence reposed by these brave men in each other. Their convention is organised in the usual manner, and decently opened with prayer, and three days are spent in the utmost harmony in the discharge of the duties of this primitive legislation. It is probable that the speeches were not long,

nor the motions very formal, but we apprehend that the colony of Transylvania was erected, its courts established, its militia organised, and even its game protected, with as much propriety as usually marks the primary assemblies of the people.

In the autumn of the same year, the proprietors determined to send a delegate to congress, and accordingly at a meeting of those gentlemen, held at Oxford, in the county of Granville, North Carolina, on the 25th of September 1775, Mr. James Hogg, one of their own number, was appointed to represent them in the continental congress. Mr. Hogg repaired to Philadelphia, but did not claim a seat among the patriot fathers of our republic, then convened at that city, for reasons which are detailed at length, in a letter, which we copy in another place.

We omit a variety of other interesting particulars, which throw a light upon the transactions of this period, preferring to make copious extracts from the documents before us, and to place them in an appendix where the reader may see the events described in the language of the actors.

The attempt to establish a proprietary government received no sanction from the state of Virginia, or from congress, nor does it appear to have been heartily supported by any portion of the people over whom it was proposed to be extended. To a part of the inhabitants it was decidedly unacceptable, and this party increased rapidly, as the opinions of the revolution became more and more widely disseminated. The new government never went into operation, nor was ever formally acknowledged by the people; and

the state of Virginia never ceased to exercise her right of sovereignty, when occasions for legislation presented. Colonel Henderson and his partners, finding it impracticable to sustain themselves in the executive station which they had assumed, and in which the settlers seemed indisposed to support them, very soon abandoned the idea of claiming any political rank, in virtue of their purchase, and appear to have employed themselves thereafter in endeavouring to procure the acknowledgment of their title to the land as owners. Even this however was denied them by the state of Virginia, whose politicians, wisely foreseeing the evil of so gigantic a monopoly, and the anti-republican tendency of the great landed estates which would be established in a few families by this procedure, promptly refused to sanction any of the acts of the proprietors or people of Transylvania, or to admit the validity of any title to the soil not emanating from the parent state. Among a number of resolutions, and other expressions of opinion, on the part of Virginia, we find the following declaration which briefly includes the result of the whole discussion.

“In the house of delegates, Wednesday, the 4th of November, 1778.

Resolved—That all purchases of lands, made or to be made, of the Indians, within the chartered bounds of this commonwealth, as described by the constitution or form of government, by any private persons not authorised by public authority, are void.

Resolved—That the purchases heretofore made by Richard Henderson and Company, of that tract of land

called Transylvania, within this commonwealth, of the Cherokee Indians, is void ; but as the said Richard Henderson and Company have been at very great expense in making the said purchase, and in settling the said lands, by which this commonwealth is likely to receive great advantage, by increasing its inhabitants, and establishing a barrier against the Indians, it is just and reasonable to allow the said Richard Henderson and Company a compensation for their trouble and expense."

Tuesday, November 17th, 1778, " Agreed to by the Senate."

After endeavouring for several years, with great assiduity, to procure a reversal of the proposition contained in the first of these resolutions, and a recognition of their purchase, they were obliged, however reluctantly, to abandon all hope of possessing this noble domain ; and they now applied for the remuneration to which the legislature of Virginia had acknowledged them to be so well entitled. More than twenty years elapsed before even this was granted ; but Virginia finally granted to the Transylvania company, a large tract of land upon the waters of Green river, and included in the boundaries of the county of Henderson, which was afterwards formed.

Similar proceedings, and a like result took place in North Carolina, in reference to so much of the purchase from the Cherokees as lay within the limits of that state.

The narrative which we have introduced forms but an episode in the history of Kentucky. While a few enterprising gentlemen were maturing splendid schemes

for the aggrandisement of their posterity, the stream of population rolled on without interruption. The settlers seem to have placed little confidence in the title of Henderson and his associates, and we scarcely find it alluded to in the early records or traditionary history of this region. It will appear, however, upon referring to some of the papers which we append to this volume, that the services of those gentlemen were important. Henderson, Williams, Luttrell, and Hart, were really the *pioneers*, who opened the road to the fertile shores of the Kentucky river, and erected the first fortress in that beautiful though perilous wild. Boone was their agent—bold, faithful, deserving—yet a subordinate actor under other men—the chief of their hunters, and the leader perhaps of the military arm of their expedition. But his talents were of the useful kind, his character was popular, and his achievements gained for him the confidence of the people; and in all that relates to the perils of the wilderness, and the stirring events of the border wars, Boone was a chieftain of high repute. He was the guide who led the way to the desert, and whose name was perhaps best known, though some of those who were associated with him in the great enterprise, were more intelligent, and equally influential. Other adventurers followed, and settled around him, looking up to him as their shield in danger, and at all times as their counsellor and guide. The savages continued to annoy them with unceasing hostility; sometimes laying siege to the fort, frequently attempting to surprise it, and continually lurking about in small parties, way-laying the hunters, assailing those engaged in agricul-

ture, and capturing the females and children in sight of the fortress. We should exceed our limits, and unnecessarily shock the feelings of the reader, if we should detail all the achievements of Boone, the privations of himself and his companions, and the barbarities of their unrelenting foes. He continued to sustain himself in the midst of danger, displaying, in every emergency, that consummate skill and patient courage, which elevated him above ordinary men; and distinguished by a gentleness of manners, and a benevolence of heart and action, which secured the affections of his friends, and won respect even from his ferocious enemies.

From this time the forests of Kentucky began to be rapidly peopled. The settlers came in small parties, and spread over the whole country, each little colony erecting its own fort, and appointing its own leader. The Indians continued to harass them. The latter were now more than ever inflamed with rage and jealousy against the Americans, by the arts of the British agents, who supplied them with arms and ammunition, bribed them to hostility by valuable presents, and poisoned their minds by incendiary speeches. The whole district of Kentucky exhibited scenes of bloodshed.

We must condense these events. The name of Boone is the most conspicuous among the pioneers, because he was the earliest adventurer to the shores of the Ohio, and continued longest to brave the perils of the forest. But there were others who were superior to him in education and strength of mind, and his

equals in every other respect. Boone was remarkable for the perfect equanimity with which he bore every trial. Never greatly excited, he was never alarmed nor despondent. Others were allured to the wilderness by ambition or cupidity, in the pursuit of wealth, or lands, or fame; but he seems to have enjoyed the life of the pioneer, and to have dwelt in the woods from choice. Others hunted down the Indians with rancorous hatred; Boone only defended himself against their assaults, and never troubled his head about them while they let him alone. He was good humoured, social, and disposed to live in quiet; love of peace, rather than fondness for war, made him a dweller on the frontier; and when the restraints of society pressed around him, when the cavils of the neighbourhood became vexatious, or any other cause rendered his residence disagreeable, his simple remedy was to plunge farther into the woods. He was abstemious in his habits, and a close observer of nature; and without any brilliancy or much grasp of intellect, he had a great deal of that practical good sense which may be supposed to have existed in the mind of a person of even temperament, who thought much, spoke little, and acted with deliberation; whose whole life was a series of journeying, danger, and vicissitude, and whose vigilant eye was constantly employed in watching the appearances of nature, the habits of animals, the changes of the season, and the movements of hostile men. These are the characteristics of the backwoodsman; they were strongly developed in all those that

accompanied or followed Boone, but in him they were less adulterated, because his mind was not distracted by the passions and cares that perplex other men.

In a subsequent chapter, when we come to speak of the character of the western population, we shall notice the peculiarities of this race, their arts, industry, and mode of life.

END OF VOL. I.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.

The engraving is made from an original plan of Boonesboro, in the hand-writing of Colonel Henderson.

The fort was composed of four lines of cabins, those at the corners being larger than the others, and projecting so as to form bastions.

The dimensions of the enclosure are not stated; but if we allow an average of twenty feet for each cabin and opening, the length of the fort must have been about two hundred and sixty, and the breadth one hundred and eighty feet.

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